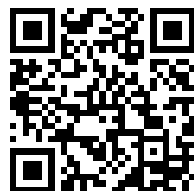

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TRANSACTIONS
AND
PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN
PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

1907

VOLUME XXXVIII

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CONTENTS OF VOL. XXXVIII

TRANSACTIONS

I. Notes on Stoning among the Greeks and Romans . . .	5
ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE	
II. Indications of a Consonant-Shift in Siamese since the Introduction of Alphabetical Writing	19
CORNELIUS BEACH BRADLEY	
III. <i>Ruscinia</i>	31
E. WHITNEY MARTIN	
IV. The Criticism of Photius on the Attic Orators	41
LA RUE VAN HOOK	
V. The Theatre as a Factor in Roman Politics under the Republic	49
FRANK FROST ABBOTT	
VI. Choriambic Dimeter and the Rehabilitation of the Antispast	57
PAUL SHOREY	
VII. A Knight Ther Was	89
JOHN MATTHEWS MANLY	
VIII. The Distribution of Oriental Cults in the Gauls and the Germanies	109
CLIFFORD H. MOORE	

PROCEEDINGS

I. Programme of the Chicago Meeting	iii
II. Minutes	vi
III. Abstracts	
1. The So-called Praetorium in the Roman Legionary Camp at Lambaesis	xii
GEORGE H. ALLEN	
2. The Verbal in <i>-reo</i> in Polybius	xiii
HAMILTON FORD ALLEN	

3. Two Critical Notes	xiv
CAMPBELL BONNER	
4. The Aeschylean Element in Mrs. Browning's Writings CURTIS C. BUSHNELL	xiv
5. Rhythmic Alternation and Coincidence of Accent and Ictus in Latin Metric Art	xv
THOMAS FITZ-HUGH	
6. The Accusative of Exclamation in Plautus and Terence ROY C. FLICKINGER	xvii
7. Apollo and the Python Myth	xvii
GEORGE DEPUE HADZSITS	
8. The Use of <i>οἶος</i> , <i>πῶος</i> , and <i>ὁπῶος</i>	xviii
9. On the Interpretation of the First Antistrophe of the <i>Ajax</i> of Sophocles	xix
J. E. HARRY	
10. Is there a Science of Classical Philology?	xx
FRANCIS W. KELSEY	
11. Aramaic Papyri recently found at Assuan	xx
GEORGE F. MOORE	
12. Two Notes in Classical Mythology	xxi
WILFRED P. MUSTARD	
13. Greek Mss from Egypt, in the possession of Mr. Charles L. Freer	xxii
HENRY A. SANDERS	
14. The Greeks and Suicide	xxii
W. S. SCARBOROUGH	
15. The Force of Sigmatism in Homer	xxiii
JOHN ADAMS SCOTT	
16. The Historical and the Legendary in Herodotus' Ac- count of the Accession of Darius, iii, 27-88	xxiv
HERBERT CUSHING TOLMAN	
<hr/>	
I. Programme of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast	xxvii
II. Minutes	xxix
III. Abstracts	
1. Poe and Plagiarism — Theory and Practice	xxx
W. D. ARMES	

Contents

3

2. On Certain Determinatives of Direction in Siamese	xxx
CORNELIUS BEACH BRADLEY	
3. The Identity of the Child in Vergil's Pollio	xxxii
J. E. CHURCH	
4. The Reading of Propertius, ii, 28, 54	xxxii
MONROE E. DEUTSCH	
5. Two XIV Century Treatises on the Education of Women	xxxiii
ROBERT DUPOUEY	
6. Note on the Episode of the Delphic Oracle in Plato's <i>Apology</i>	xxxiii
J. ELMORE	
7. Virgil	xxxiv
8. Notes on the <i>Aeneid</i>	xxxvi
H. R. FAIRCLOUGH	
9. Use of <i>lai</i> in the Sense of <i>lamenti</i> in Italian Poetry	xxxix
O. M. JOHNSTON	
10. Theocritus' Treatment of the Daphnis Story	xxxix
A. T. MURRAY	
11. A Note on Cicero, <i>pro Sulla</i> , 52	xxxix
H. C. NUTTING	
12. Ni-Clauses in Virgil	xl
ANDREW OLIVER	
13. Carlyle and the German Classics	xli
F. WINTHER	
<hr/>	
Index (a select index to the articles and abstracts)	xlii
Bibliographical Record	xliv
Officers of the Association	lv
Members, List of	lvi
Libraries, Institutions, and Journals, List of	lxxi
Constitution	lxxiv
Administrative Resolutions	lxxvi
Publications	lxxvii

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
1907

I — *Notes on Stoning among the Greeks and Romans*

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By stoning I shall in this article understand the throwing of stones from the hand (as opposed to the use of artillery or slings), either with or without intent to kill. Stone-throwing in war, on land or sea, or for purposes of defence against armed force, belongs rather to the art of warfare than to what we usually mean by the English word 'stoning,' and I shall here disregard it. With the definite historical instances I shall introduce certain mythological and fictitious cases, as indicating practices probably not without foundation in fact among those with whom the stories arose and were current.

It may be objected that stoning is not a distinct species of punishment, that it makes no difference whether a person be stoned, clubbed, or stabbed, so long as death, injury, or insult is effected. That the distinction is sometimes unimportant and arbitrary, and that in some cases authors disagree as to the exact mode of death, must be admitted, yet, in the majority of cases, this form of punishment seems to have been regarded as in some way distinctive. I feel, therefore, that it has sufficient unity to form the subject of this article, in which I shall briefly inquire (1) against what sort of offences it was employed, and (2) what was its legality or illegality, and how it was regarded by the public.

The examples of stoning I shall roughly group in three classes: (1) Instances in which the offence punished affects the existence or external welfare of the state, especially acts of treason and crimes committed by or against soldiers on military service, and hence indirectly bearing upon public safety; (2) Cases where the crime was supposed to injure the internal life of the state, its worship, its laws, or the rights of its citizens, hence, in many examples, corresponding to those punished in modern lynchings; (3) Instances in which the cause lies not in indignation at wrong done, or only ostensibly so, but rather in personal or political antagonisms, and the desire to attain private or partisan ends. The motives of popular violence are often so mixed that these divisions cannot be hard and fast.

I

Of the crimes of the first group, treason was the most conspicuous. As it found its greatest opportunity in time of war and in the army, so we find it frequently punished there. It may seem surprising that in an army, where other weapons were available, recourse should have been had to stoning. Indeed, Tertullian¹ speaks of stoning as the favorite form of violence of mobs and unarmed uprisings. But an underlying principle in stoning seems to be that by it all present may unite in inflicting the punishment, which thus represents more vividly the general feeling than if the victim were slain by the blows or stabs of one or two men, and also brings a smaller share of guilt to the individual participant. The same principle is to be seen in the manner of death of Julius Caesar.² I shall now cite a few cases of treason in different forms, punished either by soldiers or civilians. In the Second Messenian War the Arcadian Aristocrates, who had betrayed the allied Messenian and Arcadian interests to the Spartans, was stoned by his countrymen, and cast out of the land unburied.³ In the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes⁴ the people of Acharnae would stone Dicaeopolis because of his

¹ *adv. Marcionem* iv, 39.

² Suet. *Julius* 82.

³ Paus. iv, 22, 7.

⁴ 178 sqq., 234 sqq., 280 sqq., 319 sqq., 341 sqq.

private peace with the Lacedaemonians, but are finally induced by him to desist. A. Postumius Albinus, a legate of Sulla, was stoned by his soldiers.¹ The epitome of Livy lxxv says it was for treachery, Valerius Maximus² says it was on baseless suspicions, while Orosius³ declares that it was for his *intolerabilis superbia*. And Palamedes was stoned on the pretended charge of treacherous communication with the Trojans.⁴ Next to actual treachery lay the failure of a general, from whatever motive, to follow up an advantage against the enemy. The Argive leader Thrasyllus concluded terms with Agis, and both armies were led homeward, to the discontent of all but their leaders. Thrasyllus was stoned just outside Argos, and escaped only by fleeing to an altar.⁵ For the negligence of the Agrigentine and Syracusan generals in allowing the Iberian troops of Himilco (who was attacking Agrigentum in 406) to escape, four of the five of Agrigentum were stoned by their fellow-citizens at the instigation of Menes of Camarina, without chance for defence,⁶ and the ten of Syracuse by their townspeople prompted by Dionysius.⁷ In 361 Autocles had to stand trial at Athens for negligence in his campaign in Thrace. Of the trial we know little, but we have a reference to a speech of Hyperides called *κατ' Αἰτοκλέους προδοσίας*,⁸ and from this speech Harpocration⁹ cites the significant word *κατέλευσαν* which he explains by *λίθοις κατέβαλον*. Perhaps he was here citing the punishment meted out in some similar case. Coriolanus, after his retreat from Roman territory, seems to have suffered this fate at the hand of the Volscians, incited by their general Tullius,¹⁰ though Livy¹¹ says there are various accounts as to the manner of his death.

For simple cowardice stoning might be used, for Hector¹² upbraids Paris, saying that had the Trojans themselves not been cowards he would have donned a robe of stone for his

¹ Plut. *Sulla* 6.² ix, 8, 3.³ *adv. Pag.* v, 18, 22.⁴ Sch. l. Eur. *Or.* 432; Philostr. *Heroicus*, p. 311.⁵ Thuc. v, 60.⁶ Diod. xiii, 87.⁷ Plut. *Epist.* 354 D.⁸ *frag.* 59 Blass.⁹ *s.v.* *κατέλευσαν*.¹⁰ Dion H. viii, 59; App. *Ital.* 5.¹¹ ii, 40, 10.¹² *Il.* iii, 56 sq.

cowardice. The Carthaginian general Hannibal for unsuccessful and perhaps cowardly conduct in a naval battle against the Romans in Sardinia in 259 was killed by his countrymen. Accounts differ as to the method, but Orosius¹ says he was stoned. One Cyrsilus gained an evil renown by proposing to the Athenians, just before the battle of Salamis, that they yield to Xerxes. Stoning immediately overtook both him and his wife.² Herodotus³ tells the same story of Lycides before the battle of Plataea, and the two accounts are perhaps to be referred to the same person and event. The conduct of the Athenians at this time is contrasted by Demosthenes with that of his contemporaries towards Philip and his agents, and Lycurgus⁴ says that if Leocrates had lived in those days and left the city in time of peril (as he did after Chæronea), he would have been stoned in that spirit in which the Athenians barely refrained from stoning their former friend Alexander, who had become an emissary of Xerxes. The people of Megalopolis almost stoned the messenger of Cleomenes who invited the city to yield to him.⁵ Doubtless the sanctity of messengers prevented. (The reverse situation is seen in the case of the people of Urso, who threatened to stone a man who had dared to attack a messenger.⁶) The Punic sympathizers in Lilybaeum in 249 induced the citizens to repel with stones and darts the emissaries who sought the surrender of the town to the Romans.⁷

Conspiracy against a king or general affecting the safety of the state or army might thus be punished. Philotas, with fellow-conspirators against Alexander the Great, was stoned by the army, but not before he had made a defence.⁸ Later, Hermolaus and his accomplices for the same offence suffered this fate.⁹ Dio Cassius¹⁰ tells us that under Nero many of the foremost citizens were accused of conspiracy and stoned by the army. The Athenian rebels with Cylon died by

¹ *adv. Pag.* iv, 8, 4.

² *Dem. de Cor.* 259; *Cic. Off.* iii, 48.

³ ix, 5.

⁴ *c. Leocr.* 71.

⁵ Polyb. ii, 61, 4-5.

⁶ *Bell. Hisp.* 22, 4.

⁷ Polyb. i, 43, 6.

⁸ Arrian iv, 14, 3; Curt. vi, 11, 9-10; vi, 11, 38; vii, 2, 1-2.

⁹ Plut *Alex.* 55.

¹⁰ lxi, 19.

various deaths, some, says Plutarch,¹ by stoning. Nor was it always the betrayed party who punished treachery (as the story of Tarpeia may perhaps show). Parthenius² relates that Achilles bade his soldiers stone Pisidice, daughter of the king of Methymna, who had betrayed that city to him in return for his promise to marry her.

Armies were quick to punish in this way not only evident treachery, but also what seemed opposed to their wishes or interests. Clearchus narrowly escaped stoning for being the first to order an advance against the Great King.³ Suspicion that booty was being misappropriated by the general might arouse indignation leading to stoning.⁴ Thus M. Postumius Regillensis, after the conquest of Bola, opposed the division of land to his soldiers.⁵ The army, hearing of this, mutinied, stoned the quaestor, Sestius, and finally Postumius himself.⁶ In the Mercenary War at Carthage the mutinous soldiers, though speaking many languages, yet understood only too well the word βάλλε, and stoned any one who spoke contrary to their desires.⁷ Mutinous legions in Pannonia, after the death of Augustus, stoned nearly to death Cn. Lentulus, who, with Drusus, was the object of their suspicion and dislike.⁸ And the legate Fabius Valens (69 A.D.), who attempted to separate some troops to diminish the chances of mutiny, narrowly escaped this danger.⁹ Tribunes sent by Marius to Nola, to bring the army to Marius, were stoned, at the instigation of Sulla.¹⁰ The chorus in the *Ajax* of Sophocles fear stoning at the hands of the army should they espouse the cause of the hero who has killed the cattle which are the army's booty.¹¹

Prisoners of war were occasionally stoned, doubtless as dangerous to the state, or in revenge. Herodotus¹² tells how Phocaean pirates captured in Corsica by combined Etruscan and Punic forces, were thus killed. Around the tomb of Philopoemen the Achaeans stoned their Messenian captives,¹³

¹ *Solon* 12.² *Erot.* 21.³ *Xen. An.* i, 3, 1-2.⁴ *ib.* vi, 6, 7; *Florus* i, 17, 22.⁵ *Liv.* iv, 49, 11.⁶ *id.* iv, 50, 1 sqq.⁷ *Polyb.* i, 69, 12; cf. i, 80, 9.⁸ *Tac. Ann.* i, 27.⁹ *id. Hist.* ii, 29.¹⁰ *Plut. Sulla* 9.¹¹ *Soph. Aj.* 254 sq.¹² i, 167.¹³ *Plut. Philop.* 21.

a dramatic revenge for Philopoemen's death. The captive Hecuba, according to one tradition,¹ died by stoning, 'the death of mad dogs,' as Tzetzes² remarks. Odysseus is said to have cast the first stone.³ Here, however, the punishment is probably directed against her, not as a prisoner of war, but in return for the curses she had uttered against the Greeks because of the death of Polyxena.

2

I now pass to the second class of crimes which affect primarily the internal life of the state. Murder might be thus avenged. Plutarch⁴ tells us that when the Boeotian Phocus had been killed by the thirty suitors of his daughter, the murderers were pursued, besieged, and stoned to death. Cassandra in the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus⁵ hints at vengeance for Agamemnon's murder coming in the form of stoning by the people. To whom she does not say, but farther on⁶ the chorus predict it more specifically for Aegisthus. Helen, as the cause of the death of warriors at Troy, was twice in danger of stoning, once at the hands of Menelaus, urged to it by Hecuba,⁷ and later at the hands of the people of Rhodes, instigated by Polyxo, wife of Tlepolemus, who had perished at Troy.⁸ Cleomedes of Astypalaea, in an attack of madness, pulled down the roof of a school, thereby killing the sixty children in it. The people stoned him, but he escaped and hid in a chest, which, being opened, was found empty. The Delphic oracle declared him a hero, and as such he was thereafter worshipped. Thus Pausanias says;⁹ Plutarch,¹⁰ who also tells the story, and Eusebius,¹¹ who mentions Cleomedes as a hero, say nothing of the stoning. The death of Arsinoë, daughter of Berenice, was avenged upon its perpetrator, Philammon, by stoning at the hands of Egyptian women who had grown up with Arsinoë.¹² In the romance of Apollonius of Tyre, the attempted murder of a girl

¹ Dictys v, 16; Lycophr. 315 sqq. and schol., 1181 sqq.

² Lycophr. 1187.

³ *Amat. Quaest.* iv, p. 775 A.

⁴ 1615 sq.

⁵ Eur. *Troad.* 1036 sqq.

⁶ vi, 9, 6-7.

⁷ *Romulus* 28.

⁸ *Praep. Evang.* v, 34.

⁹ *Chil.* iii, 242 sqq.

¹⁰ 1117 sq.

¹¹ Polyæn. i, 13.

¹² Polyb. xv, 33, 12.

by her guardians is avenged by the populace, who stone the guardians.¹ Parricide was punished by the Lusitanians by stoning outside the boundaries, says Strabo.² In the *Orestes* of Euripides,³ Electra suggests the possibility that she and Orestes may be stoned for the murder of their mother. Later⁴ this form of death is resolved upon by the Argives. The exiled parricide Oedipus⁵ says that on the day of the discovery of his offence, he vainly wished to die by stoning. (This punishment, however, may here be suggested for the crime of incest, for in Apuleius⁶ a stepson, falsely accused by his stepmother of incest, narrowly escapes stoning at the hands of his angry townsmen.) Among the Jews disregard for parents led to this form of death.⁷

Resistance to the will of a tyrannical ruler might lead to stoning by the people at the command or instigation of the tyrant.⁸ Transgression of a law of the state affecting public morals Aeschines, in his oration against Timarchus,⁹ considers a proper cause for stoning. Even ridicule of a law or established custom might perhaps have its dangers. For Anacharsis, in Lucian's dialogue of that name,¹⁰ humorously suggests that he would be likely to be stoned, should he ever go to Sparta, because of his ridicule of Spartan methods of disciplining young men.

Blasphemy among the Jews was thus punished.¹¹ Aeschylus was accused of impiety in one of his dramas, and the people were about to stone him when his brother Ameinias rescued him on the plea of his bravery at Salamis.¹² In Lucian's dialogue *Jupiter Tragoedus*¹³ Timocles urges the people to stone the atheist Damis, who, in his turn, inquires why Timocles is so concerned when the gods themselves are not! At the Arcadian village of Condylea, children in their

¹ Apoll. Tyr. *Hist.* 50.² iii, 3, 7.³ 46-52; cf. 437-442.⁴ 534 sqq., 612 sqq., 852 sqq., 863 sqq., 914 sqq., 944 sqq.⁵ Soph. *O.C.* 431 sqq.⁶ *Metam.* x, 6.⁷ Deut. 21, 21; Joseph. *c. Apionem* ii, 27.⁸ Aesch. *Sept.* 196-199; Soph. *Ant.* 36; Eur. *Heracl.* 55-60. ⁹ 163. ¹⁰ 39.¹¹ Philo, *Vit. Moys.* iii, 25. And see Hastings, *Dict. of the Bible*, i, 527 a, for a collection of Biblical instances.¹² Aelian, *V.H.* v, 19.¹³ 36.

play tried to strangle the statue of Artemis in her temple. The scandalized citizens of the neighboring town of Caphyae stoned the guilty children, whereupon their wives were punished by a succession of still-births until, carrying out a command of the oracle, they buried the children's bodies, and instituted yearly rites to them.¹ In the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius,² the witchcraft of an old woman named Merope nearly brings stoning upon her, but she escapes by means of her art.

Maladministration of the grain supply, and particularly corruption of the standards of measurement, naturally aroused popular indignation. Plutarch, in his *Greek and Roman Parallels*,³ mentions a Greek named Pyrandor and a Roman named Cinna, who were stoned by their countrymen for such corruption of standards in grain shortages in time of war. The sophist Lollianus, of Ephesus, was nearly stoned at Athens by the Athenians for his mismanagement of the grain supply, but was rescued by the Cynic Pancrates.⁴ And the Pseudo-Quintilian, in his *Declamations*,⁵ imagines the case of a *legatus* whose neglect of duty has led to a grain famine, and says that if the judges do not punish him the people will stone him.

Tyrants in Greek cities sometimes suffered this fate. Thus Aristagoras handed Coes over to the people of Mytilene, and they stoned him.⁶ And Phalaris is said to have been stoned by the Agrigentines, according to one account,⁷ at the exhortation of Zeno of Elea, who was being tortured by the tyrant. A still more dramatic story given by Tzetzes⁸ states that Phalaris had remarked that if but one of a flock of doves he was watching should turn against the hawk which was pursuing, all the rest of the flock would do so too. Whereupon an old man threw a stone at Phalaris, and all the people at once did likewise. The makers or supporters of cruel or severe laws might be in danger of stoning. Lycurgus, because of his sumptuary laws, was attacked by well-to-do

¹ Paus. viii, 23, 6-7. ² i, 10. ³ p. 313 B. ⁴ Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 23.

⁵ 12, 12. ⁶ Herod. v, 38. ⁷ Val. Max. iii, 3, 2, *Ext.* 2.

⁸ *Chil.* v, 955 sqq.; cf. Cic. *Off.* ii, 26.

Spartans, and fled for his life to a temple.¹ Valerius Maximus² says he was often stoned. In the time of Nero the people were excited by the enforcement of a cruel but technically legal death sentence against the innocent slaves of a murdered man, and threatened stoning to those who insisted on the letter of the law.³

One case is on record of stoning used against the bringers of bad news, when the Carthaginian populace stoned the messengers who brought back word from the Roman consuls that Carthage must be destroyed.⁴

3

The cases thus far cited have shown the impulse to punish conduct which, rightly or wrongly, has stirred the indignation of the people as a whole. We cannot always know what motives may have inspired particular cases, yet it has generally been the real or supposed interests of the whole people which have led to the act. But private designing was naturally quick to take advantage of the speediness of execution, and the all too frequent immunity from punishment which this method of attack offered, so that this punishment, which derived its only peculiar merit from the fact that it might express clearly and vividly the sentiments of the majority as opposed to those of the few, became diverted, by the arts of demagogues and assassins, to accomplish private or political ends, in a way subversive of all regard for law. On certain cases of this latter sort I shall now touch. Ismenias, an ambassador from Neon to the Romans, was set upon by political opponents and almost stoned to death.⁵ L. Apuleius Saturninus stirred up the people to stone his colleague Baebius for opposing his agrarian law giving land to the Marian soldiers.⁶ A little later he was himself stoned by Marius and his followers.⁷ P. Autronius Paetus, the colleague of Sulla, is accused by Cicero of having used stoning as a political method,⁸ and to its use by Clodius and his

¹ Plut. *Apoph. Lac. Lyc.* 7 (p. 227 A).

² v, 3, 5, *Ext.* 2.

³ Tac. *Ann.* xiv, 45.

⁴ App. viii, 92.

⁵ Polyb. xxvii, 1, 6.

⁶ Aur. Vict. *Vir. Ill.* 73, 1.

⁷ *id.* 73, 10-12.

⁸ Cic. *pro Sulla* 15.

party, as a form of intimidation, Cicero also bears testimony.¹ At Puteoli class feuds led *ad saxa et minas ignium*;² a quarrel at a gladiatorial show at Pompeii between people of that city and some from Nuceria led first to stoning and then to the use of swords;³ Nero himself at Rome took part in a riot in the theatre, throwing stones and fragments of benches, and wounding a praetor in the head.⁴ In an assembly of the Aetolians at Thermos in 168 Pantaleon stirred up the people to stone Thoas, an opponent of the Romans.⁵

As an unpopular person might be attacked, so a popular one might be supported, in this case by stoning his enemies. Lucian⁶ represents that Peregrinus, accused of murdering his father for his money, gave that money to the Parians. The mouths of his enemies were thus stopped and any one who mentioned the murder was liable to be stoned. It is amusing to recall that Peregrinus himself narrowly escaped stoning when, at Olympia, he criticised the installation of a water supply as tending to luxury, while in the very act of drinking the water himself.⁷ And later, when he proposes to sacrifice himself in the flames, having forged an oracle bidding the Eleans worship him as a god, Lucian forges a counter-oracle bidding them stone him, if, in timidity, he draws back from the fire.⁸ The adherents of the false prophet Alexander, in Lucian's dialogue of that name,⁹ stone an opponent of the prophet.

In Lysias' speech against Simon¹⁰ the lover of a boy Theodotus complains that his rival Simon has stoned him and a friend. In the Achaean Social War two conspirators against Philip tried to stone his friend Aratus.¹¹ The greeting offered by the misanthrope Timon to Heracles and Plutus, as later to his covetous fellow-citizens, is one of stones.¹² Plautus mentions stoning as a method of personal attack,¹³ in one case by a pretended madman.¹⁴ Aesop was insulted in

¹ *de Domo* 12, 13, 14, 53; *pro Sestio* 77; *pro Milone* 41.

² Tac. *Ann.* xiii, 48.

³ *ib.* xiv, 17.

⁴ Suet. *Nero* 26.

⁵ Polyb. xxviii, 4, 12.

⁶ *Peregr.* 15.

⁷ *ib.* 19.

⁸ *Peregr.* 30.

⁹ 45; and cf. 25.

¹⁰ 8.

¹¹ Polyb. v, 15, 4.

¹² Luc. *Timon* 34, 45.

¹³ *Stichus* 613.

¹⁴ *Capt.* 593, 600.

this way and gave his assailant a penny, advising him to stone some more influential man in the hope of a larger reward.¹ Lais, coming to Thessaly as lover of Hippolochus, is said to have been stoned by women jealous of her beauty.² Pentheus announces that Dionysus, if captured, shall be thus punished.³

The populace might by stoning express its disapproval of a bad actor. Demosthenes says⁴ that this was done when Aeschines appeared on the stage. Macrobius⁵ says that one Vatinius obtained a decree from the aediles that at the gladiatorial show which he was to give no stones, but only fruit, might be thrown. A bad poet was liable to be stoned.⁶ In these cases the stoning was doubtless not fatal!

In lieu of the hated person stoning was occasionally directed against some object representing or connected with him, as, for example, when Aegisthus insults Agamemnon's tomb by stoning it,⁷ or when mutinous legions in Germany stone the *imagines* of the Emperor Galba.⁸ On the death of Germanicus the temples of the gods were stoned.⁹ The wives and children of the guilty were sometimes stoned. Thus Artyactes, a cruel Persian governor of Sestos, was hanged by the Greeks and his son stoned before his eyes.¹⁰ The wife of Cyrsilus was stoned by the wives of the men who stoned her husband.¹¹ Plutarch¹² says the wives of Cylon's adherents escaped only by becoming suppliants. Electra expects to suffer stoning with her brother.¹³

There remain to be noted certain cases of religious or ceremonial stone-throwing. The stoning of the kings of the Sabaeans at the command of an ancient oracle, if ever they went outside their palace,¹⁴ lies outside the geographic limits of this article. The Aenianes seized the town of Cirrha and stoned their king, Oenoclus.¹⁵ Plutarch also states¹⁶ that it was done

¹ Phaedrus iii, 5.

² Plut. *Amat. Lib.* 21 (p. 768 A).

³ Eur. *Bacch.* 355-358.

⁴ *Fals. Leg.* 389; cf. Athen. ix, pp. 406-407.

⁵ *Sat.* ii, 6.

⁶ Athen. vi, p. 245; Petron. 90, 93; *Fab. Aesopicae* 248.

⁷ Eur. *El.* 328.

⁸ Tac. *Hist.* i, 55.

⁹ Suet. *Calig.* 5.

¹⁰ Herod. ix, 120.

¹¹ *id.* ix, 5; Dem. *de Cor.* 259.

¹² *Solon* 12.

¹³ Eur. *Orest.* 50, 440 sqq., 614, 863 sqq., 914 sqq., 944 sqq.

¹⁴ Diod. iii, 47; Frazer, *Golden Bough* I, 313 sqq.

¹⁵ Plut. *Capit. Descr.* 13, p. 294 A.

¹⁶ *ib.* 25, p. 297 B, C.

in time of drought, at the bidding of an oracle. Parallels to this sacrifice of a king are collected by Frazer.¹ And for the stoning of a victim at time of pestilence, we may cite a curious story related by Philostratus,² a custom attributed to the people of Massilia,³ and possibly the rite at the Thargelia (*vide infra*). A regular stoning at Abdera is mentioned by Ovid,⁴ but without details.

Obscure, also, is the festival of the βαλλήτης. A character in Athenaeus,⁵ when stoning is mentioned, says, "What is this throwing of stones? For I know of a certain festival in my own town of Eleusis which is called the βαλλήτης." Hesychius⁶ defines the word as ἐορτὴ Ἀθήνησιν ἐπὶ Δημοφῶντι τῷ Κελεοῦ ἀγομένη. Its occurrence at Eleusis, in honor of Demophon, shows that it is probably to be connected with the Demeter cult. Keil⁷ suggests that two inscriptions mentioning, the one a ἱερεὺς λιθοφόρος and the other a man of whose proper name Λιθοφόρος is a part (pointing to an earlier holding of that priestly office), are to be referred to this rite. The second of these inscriptions is dedicated to Demeter and Persephone. Let us turn for a moment from Eleusis to Troezen. Pausanias,⁸ describing the τέμενος of Hippolytus there, tells of the tradition that the Cretan maidens Damia and Auxesia were stoned to death at Troezen, in a sedition, and that from that time a festival called the Λιθοβόλεια was celebrated in their honor. This festival, as Usener⁹ suggests, is perhaps a rite of purification. May it not be analogous to those in honor of other victims of stoning, namely, the Phocaeans,¹⁰ Cleomedes of Astypalaea,¹¹ and the children of Condylea?¹² In these, also, we hear of festivals in honor of the slain, or hero-worship paid to them, and it may well be that these rites were accompanied by a ceremonial stoning. The festival of Damia and Auxesia at Troezen has many

¹ *Golden Bough* I, 157 sqq.

² *Vit. Apoll. Tyan.* iv, 10.

³ Lact. Placid. *in Stat. Theb.* x, 793; but cf. Serv. *in Aen.* iii, 57; Farnell *Greek Cults* IV, 279.

⁴ *Ibis* 467-468.

⁵ ix, p. 406.

⁶ s.v. βαλλήτης.

⁷ *Philol.* XXIII, 242 sq.

⁸ ii, 32, 2.

⁹ *Götternamen* 130.

¹⁰ Herod. i, 167.

¹¹ Paus. vi, 9, 6-8.

¹² *id.* viii, 23, 6-7.

similarities to that of Demeter and Persephone at Eleusis, and Welcker,¹ Wide,² and Frazer³ have shown good reasons for connecting the two rites. Hence it is not impossible that the *βαλλητής* also is to be traced back to an ancient imitative purificatory rite. The vexed question of the *φαρμακοί* at the Thargelia, I have not space here to discuss. An elaborate treatment of it with references to ancient and modern views will be found in Professor Gilbert Murray's *Rise of the Greek Epic*.⁴

I desire now briefly to sum up the whole discussion of stoning, and draw, as cautiously as possible, since the instances are somewhat sporadic, a few conclusions. Stoning, as we have seen it, was neither among the Greeks nor the Romans a *legal* punishment. In these nations are opposed to the Jews, by whom it was legally employed. Several of the offences thus punished by the Jews would have affected the Greeks and Romans very slightly, or not at all, such as blasphemy, divination, idolatry, false prophesying, and Sabbath-breaking. Even among the Jews stoning might be used in mobs and riots,⁵ but this is but the misuse of a regular punishment.⁶ Curtius⁷ tells us that Philotas was stoned *Macedonum more*, and again, *more patrio*, implying that it was a regular if not a legal punishment for conspiracy in the Macedonian code. Among the Persians⁸ and the Lusitanians⁹ it was a regular form of punishment. But among the Greeks and Italians I find no trace of legality, unless its occasional use (or the threat of it) by tyrants be called legal. All that can be said is that in many cases there was no energetic attempt to punish those guilty of stoning. A religious curse seems at times to have rested upon the persons or states responsible for such lawlessness.¹⁰ Demosthenes, to be sure, tells the Athenians that if their ancestors were alive they

¹ *Gr. Götterlehre* III, 130-136.

² *De sacris Troezeniorum*, etc., 61 sqq.

³ Note on Paus. ii, 30, 4.

⁴ p. 13, and App. A.

⁵ e.g. Luke 20, 6; Acts 14, 5.

⁶ On this subject see Hastings, *Dict. of the Bible*, I, 527 a; *Jewish Encyclopaedia* III, 555, 557.

⁷ vi, 11, 9; vi, 11, 38.

⁸ Ctesias 45; Brisson, *De regno Persarum* II, 219.

⁹ Strabo iii, 3, 7.

¹⁰ e.g. Herod. i, 167.

would stone those who had injured the Phocians, and that he should consider them guiltless should they do so.¹ But this seems to imply that in less justifiable cases he would not consider them thus immune. Elsewhere² he seems distinctly to approve of the stoning of Cyrsilus. Lycurgus³ speaks in a similar vein. Here, then, are eminent Greeks who upheld this lawless punishment, at least when it suited their political or rhetorical purposes to do so. Must they not have counted also upon the approval of their hearers? I do not find that stonings on Italian soil receive the same commendation. Plutarch⁴ says that Sulla failed to punish the stoners of his legate Albinus, saying, with a sneer, that the army would behave all the better after this breach of discipline. But protests and efforts against stoning there certainly were, for in several cases mobs 'scarcely refrained' from stoning. This points to influences in favor of law and order. In Lucian's *Fisherman*,⁵ Socrates says to Plato that it would be better not to stone Lucian lest their enemies should say that they had slain a man without trial. And Apuleius⁶ represents Greek magistrates as exhorting the populace not to substitute this lawless method for legal ones. We can hardly doubt that as standards of law advanced, respectable men grew more loath to countenance stoning, which, therefore, tended to fall into the hands of the unscrupulous to be used for their own ends. Of course the mob or the soldiers could still be counted upon to follow when a ringleader led the way.

We have seen, then, that in its beginning stoning, crude and irregular as it was, was yet prompted by what was probably a real patriotism, or a righteous indignation at treachery, tyranny, or injustice. But in the later instances on Greek soil, and in practically all in Italy, its cause lay in private or partisan self-seeking or hatred, and its execution was due to the ignorance or barbarity of the mob.

¹ *Fals. Leg.* 66.

² *de Cor.* 259.

³ *c. Leocr.* 71.

⁴ *Sulla* 6.

⁵ 10; cf. 1.

⁶ *Metam.* x, 6.

II — *Indications of a Consonant-Shift in Siamese since the Introduction of Alphabetical Writing*

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I

WHILE yet a lad I became interested in noting the likeness between certain words in the Siamese, which was my vernacular, and their Indian analogues as I met them in current publications and in history. Likeness unmistakable there was; but perplexing difference as well, the reason and method of which have only of late begun to dawn upon me in the attempt to work out systematically the etymology of Pali and Sanskrit loan-words in the Siamese vocabulary. The matter is one which, so far as I know, has never before been investigated. This present study is no more than a reconnaissance. Data for the direct study of the history of the language are still almost entirely lacking. Meantime the indirect evidence of these loan-words is valuable so far as it goes, and is not without interest as an example of the operation in an alien stock indeed, but upon the same linguistic material, of the forces which brought about the great Indo-European sound-shift.

II

There is evidence to show that the group of Thai races inhabiting the peninsula of Farther India were from very early times in some contact with the culture and learning of India proper. But the impulse which quickened them to a cultural life of their own seems only to have come in the wake of the great Buddhist missionary effort of the sixth and seventh centuries of our era. One most important result of that quickening was the reduction of their several languages to writing. The suggestion to this step would come from the example of the Pali scriptures read and studied in the monasteries of the new faith. The obvious motive would be

the need of recording the vernacular gloss or interpretation of the sacred text. The means stood ready to hand in those same Devanāgarī letters in which the text was written. The stage of writing was not reached by all these races at the same time. The Burmese were probably first, favored no doubt by their proximity to India; while the Siamese, the youngest and most remote member of the group, seems to have lagged considerably behind its western neighbor. No dates can as yet be affirmed with confidence. Perhaps we shall not be far astray if we assume the tenth century of our era as the time when Siamese writing came into use. The Devanāgarī characters suffered great modification of form at the hands of these various peoples, so that the resulting types — the Burmese, the Cambodian, and the Siamese letters — show little obvious resemblance to each other or to their common original. Their Indian origin, however, is well attested, and they have all kept intact not merely the whole list of Indian letters, but even their order and grouping as well.¹ All the Indian letters were needed in order to write not merely the Pali texts, but also the numerous Pali and Sanskrit words which the new religion and the new culture had brought into common use. Pali words, moreover, being of such importance in doctrine and in ritual, were learned, we may be sure, with all care; and retained not only their Indian spelling, but at first the Indian pronunciation as well,

¹ The Siamese alphabet as it now stands has added nine letters to the Indian list, making forty-four in all. One of these additions, now standing at the end of the alphabet, represents the Indian vowel-sign for *a*. This character the Siamese writes consistently as “supporter” with all initial vowels, as the Indian scribes already wrote it with some of them. And, further, its place in a consonantal alphabet seems justified on the ground that it represents a consonant sound, namely the “glottal catch” regularly heard in Siamese before a vowel which we should call initial. Another of these added letters is an *f*, unknown to Pali and Sanskrit. The others are slightly varied forms of letters already standing in the alphabet, the alteration in some cases serving to mark variation in “voice”; in some cases to determine the pitch or “tone” of the syllable; while in others no sufficient reason for the variant appears. All these letters — with the exception of the one first named — are interpolated in their proper phonetic classes, the derivative letter always following its original. If all these were stricken out, the alphabet would exactly parallel the Indian.

so far as the dialect of the teachers, and so far as Siamese articulation would permit. The spelling of these early loan-words still remains with surprising strictness letter for letter what it was — and is — in the Indian texts. But their present pronunciation in Siamese shows a marked and constant divergence from the traditional pronunciation of them in India; especially in the case of the stopped consonants, which alone I am now considering. This divergence seems to be the only record, or even intimation, of any consonant-shift in Siamese within the period named. It cannot be assumed, however, that all of this divergence is really due to consonant-shift. Other causes may have been operative as well.¹ It is important, therefore, to examine carefully both the record itself and the bases of any interpretations that may be suggested.

III

First to come in question is the constancy, during this long period, of the standard of comparison — the Indian pronunciation of Pali and Sanskrit — by which alone it is possible even approximately to measure the divergence. Absolute invariability is, of course, quite out of the question; — it could never be proved, even were it to exist. Let us ask rather whether that Indian tradition does, or does not, contain such factors of stability and such data for detection of change as to make it comparatively constant, and so fit it to serve in a case like this. This question, I think, we may answer in the affirmative. Both Pali and Sanskrit at the beginning of our period were dead languages, and therefore immune from changes incident to life and growth. Both were objects of an immense scholarly effort as well as a religious care expressly directed to insure the accuracy of their transmission. Moreover, the values of all the consonants in question were long ago studied and described

¹ It is, for example, entirely possible that the pronunciation of Indian words learned by the Siamese from their missionary teachers may have been dialectal from the start, and not the traditional pronunciation either of Pali or of Sanskrit. This possibility is touched upon later, under VII, below.

by a great school of phonetists, and so accurately that their identification in all essential features seems still quite possible. Indeed, when one recalls the mathematical exactness with which each one of these consonants stands visibly related to its neighbors on every side on that marvellous checkerboard of the Indian alphabet — with its ranks of identical articulation and its files of identical aspiration and “voice,” — the difficulty is rather to see how any one of them could move even a little way without being caught and sent back, or without throwing the whole delicately balanced scheme into confusion.

IV

If the standard be allowed as sufficient for our purpose, the question next arises whether all the divergence it reveals is really sound-shift, — that is, variation brought about by forces working a gradual displacement in process of time; — or whether some of it at least may not have been inherent in the original transfer and adjustment — change due to the presence in the one language of phonetic elements unknown or found impossible of utterance in the other. If, for example, the Indian alphabet contained certain letters representing sounds foreign to Siamese speech, and if these letters must be retained in the Siamese alphabet for the proper spelling of Indian words, we should expect to find these letters used for the spelling of Indian words only. Even though the accommodated values given them in Siamese pronunciation should absolutely duplicate sounds common in Siamese words, those letters would not be used to spell Siamese words, but would remain to the end as alien as were *y* and *z* in Roman writing, and for much the same reason. In such a case we should have a substitution outright, and no proper sound-shift. Now precisely such conditions appear in the case of one complete class of letters representing identical articulation — namely the linguals —, and in one complete order representing identical aspiration and “voice” — namely the sonant-aspirates. When one reflects upon the rarity of these two sets of sounds in the world of

human speech, on the enormous difficulty our professed students of language find in reaching any tolerable approximation to them, and on their entire absence, so far as I learn, not only from the whole group of Thai languages, but from the related southern-Chinese dialects as well — one is almost forced to the conclusion that the Indian sounds which those letters represented were then unknown in Siamese speech.¹ And lastly, the almost entire absence of these letters in the spelling of native words strongly confirms the impression that the divergence here is original, coincident with the introduction of writing, and not the effect of time and gradual change.

V

The elimination of the linguals reduces the classes of Indian sounds and letters with which we have to deal to four: — gutturals, palatals, dentals, and labials. The elimination of the sonant-aspirates reduces the orders to three: — simple surds, surd-aspirates, and simple sonants. Perhaps we are not yet at the end of our elimination. But with the field thus narrowed, it may be well to pause here and consider the present values in Siamese of the remaining letters. These letters are twelve, standing in the well-known geometric order and classification of the Indian scheme; but only half of them have now their Indian phonetic values. A few examples will make the fact and the amount of divergence clear. The Sanskrit (or sometimes the Pali) original stands first, then the present Siamese pronunciation and spelling; the consonants in every case exactly rendered according to the Indian scheme, and silent letters enclosed in square brackets.

¹ Sonant-aspirates occurring in Indian loan-words are now pronounced exactly as are the corresponding surd-aspirates. Similarly the linguals are completely identified in utterance with the dentals; but the one articulation now given in common to both these is neither exactly that of the Indian linguals, nor that of the Indian dentals, as I have observed them, but one between the two, nearly or quite like our own linguo-dental articulation. The phonetic nomenclature and the scheme of transliteration used in this paper, I need scarcely say, are Professor Whitney's.

ORDER I. *Simple Surds*

1. k = k

karma = ka[r]m *deed*
kalpa = ka[l]p *aeon*
kuṭī = kuṭi *hut*
eka = ēk *one*

2. c = c

cakra = cak[r] *wheel*
candra = can[thr] *moon*
m. catvāras = catvā *four*
Pali cakkhu = cakhu *eye*

3. t > d generally, but sometimes t = t²¹

tāra > dāra *star*
tāpasa > dābos *hermit*
tejas > dēchā *glory*
Pali pitā > bidā *father*

trayas, tri- = t²ray, t²ri *three*
m. catvāras = cat²vā *four*
Pali sati = sat²i *thought*
sampatti = sombat²[i] *wealth*

4. p > b generally, but sometimes p = p²¹

purī > burī *city*
putra > but²[r] *child*
pāda > bāth *foot*
paṇḍita > baṇḥit *scholar*

pra- (*prefix*) = p²ra *forth*
Pāli (*the language*) = P²āli
or in earlier use Bāli
pāpa = bāp² *sin*

ORDER II. *Surd-Aspirates*

These are unchanged throughout; examples have therefore been thought unnecessary.

ORDER III. *Simple Sonants*

1. g > kh

go > khō *cow*
guru > khrū *teacher*
Gautama > Khōdom *Buddha*
saṅgrāma > sonkhrām *war*

2. j > ch

jaya > chay *victory*
jarā > charā *old age, aged*
rāja > rācha *royal*
Pali vijjā > vichā *wisdom*

3. d > th

deva > thēva *celestial being*
Pali dve, du > thō *two*
dāna > thān *gift*
Pali dukkha > thuk[kh] *distress*

4. b > ph

Buddha > Puth[th] *Buddha*
Brāhma > Phrāhm *Brahmin*
bandhu > phan[thu] *kindred*
bala > phol *forces*

Having followed the cases through in detail, let us now group the letters according to the Indian scheme, and under each Indian consonant let us put in italics the present pho-

¹ t² and p² represent two letters, manifestly variant forms of original *t* and *p*, which are uniformly surd in pronunciation, while their originals are now uniformly sonant. See below under VII.

netic value of that letter in Siamese. The result is as follows :

	<i>Simple Surds</i>	<i>Surd-Aspirates</i>	<i>Simple Sonants</i>	
Indian	k	kh	g	Gutturals
Present Siamese	<i>k</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>kh</i>	
Indian	c	ch	j	Palatals
Present Siamese	<i>c</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>ch</i>	
Indian	t	th	d	Dentals
Present Siamese	<i>d</i> or <i>t</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>th</i>	
Indian	p	ph	b	Labials
Present Siamese	<i>b</i> or <i>p</i>	<i>ph</i>	<i>ph</i>	

Through this presentation the following points are made clear : *a*) One of the orders — the surd-aspirate — has undergone no change. *b*) One order — the simple sonant — has throughout lost “voice” and taken on aspiration, becoming thus identified in utterance, though not in spelling, with the surd-aspirates. *c*) One order — the simple surd — exhibits diverse results. Two of its members, *k* and *c*, are unchanged. The other two, *t* and *p*, are generally sounded as *d* and *b*, but exceptionally remain *t* and *p*. These groups we shall now take up in the order named.

VI

The group first named above offers no material for our use, and may therefore be dismissed with only the passing remark, that *sounds* of this order — surd-aspirates — are far more frequent in these loan-words than in their Indian originals. Into the group by one means or another have been swept, as we have seen, first the sonant-aspirates, and now the simple sonants, so that the one order now does duty for no less than three orders of sounds in Indian pronunciation.

The right interpretation of what has taken place in the next group rests, I imagine, on a question as to historical fact. Were, or were not, these sonants elements of Siamese speech at the time it was reduced to writing ?¹ If they were, it seems

¹ There is, of course, the further question : How were the Indian sonants pronounced by the missionary teachers of the Siamese ? See further under VII, below.

fair to infer that the Indian sonant letters would have been chosen to represent them, and the divergence we now discover is a genuine sound-shift. If they were not, these letters must have received some conventional utterance, and that may well have been the very utterance they now have. The whole phenomenon would then be once more the substitution at the start of a familiar sound for an unfamiliar one. Unfortunately no means for determining this historical question as yet appears, nor does one discern in what quarter to look for it. The discovery of Siamese words in Indian documents of that period might determine it; but such discovery is scarcely to be hoped for. In default of anything better, we may briefly review the probabilities on either side. On the one hand, it is a somewhat rare thing for a language to have absolutely no sonant stops. The group of sounds is an important one generally, and it is represented now in Siamese speech and, I think, in all the Thai languages of the present day.¹ The constant use of the Indian sonant letters to spell native Siamese words is even a stronger point on this side. For if sonants were alien to the Siamese language, we should look for the same rigid exclusion of these letters from native words which we found in the case of the linguals and of the sonant-aspirates.²

Over against this presumption is the difficulty³ that the *un*-voicing of these letters and the voicing of *t* and *p*, discussed in the next section, cannot *both* be true consonant shifts. For *a*) if the last change took place before the other, the resultant *d* and *b* would also have been carried over into the aspirate group along with the preëxisting sonants. *b*) If the un-voicing came first, we cannot well distinguish it from original substitution. *c*) If we suppose both to have gone on together, there would be "two exactly opposite tendencies prevailing at once," — a state of things difficult to conceive. This criticism,

¹ Yet it is entirely wanting in the nearly related Cantonese dialect of China.

² See under IV, above.

³ Suggested by Professor George Hempl of Stanford, to whose kindness I am indebted for a careful reading of the first draft of this paper, and for many other valuable suggestions which I gratefully acknowledge.

it will be observed, does not apply to either case taken by itself, but only to the inclusion of both.

That no fact having any possible bearing on the question may be omitted, I should add, perhaps, that the two existing sets of surd-aspirates — the ones which seem to be original, and the ones that stand in the place of sonants — are not *in every respect* identical in present Siamese. They differ in “tone,” that is in their influence upon the pitch of the syllable in which they lead. If the unvoicing of the sonants was accomplished at the very start, it is just possible that the contrivers of the scheme of writing, in their embarrassment over so many sets of letters identical in articulation, aspiration, and lack of “voice,” may have thought best to put one of them to this tonal use, and so brought them into service in Siamese words. It seems unlikely, however, that having accomplished all this tonal distinction with much simpler devices in the case of one section of the alphabet, they should have invented this most cumbersome apparatus for the other section. Indeed, it is just as possible that the present tonal distinction is the vestige and token of an earlier distinction in “voice” which time has effaced. This view would account quite as well as the other, not merely for the appearance of these letters in native words, but for the origin of all that cumbersome machinery of “tone” of which I have just spoken. Upon the whole the presumption seems on the side of consonant-shift. But the question is plainly not one to be settled by theorizing, but rather by discovery of further facts.

VII

We come now to the last group under consideration, the simple surds. Two of these — *k* and *c* — persist without change. Two — *t* and *p* — generally appear as *d* and *b*, but in special cases remain unchanged. The letter which represents Indian *t* at some point in its history was differentiated, by means of a slight variation in pen-stroke, into two letters, the one uniformly¹ pronounced *d* and the other *t*. To dis-

¹ The only exception is in the case where the letter has become final in Siamese. But in that position all stops lose “voice,” precisely as they do in modern German.

tinguish these from Indian *d* (which is in another order) and from Indian *t*, I shall call these *d*² and *t*². The lineal successor of Indian *t* seems to be *d*². It is certainly the one copied from the Indian letter, while *t*² is plainly a deliberately planned variant from *d*². Moreover, *d*² stands in the old place of Indian *t* at the head of the lingual class, while *t*² immediately follows it in the regular place of an interpolated letter, as stated above.¹ And *d*² is regularly written for Indian *t*, save in the few exceptional positions, to be noticed presently, where *t*² takes its place. Precisely the same thing in every particular has happened to Indian *p*:—it has been split into *b*² and *p*², and of these the sonant, *b*², is the regular representative of Indian *p*, with still fewer exceptions in which *p*² takes its place. These two surds, therefore, are now regularly sonants. The exceptional positions in which *t* becomes *t*² and remains surd are in the combinations *tr*, *tv*, *tt* (simplified to *t*); *ty* when not reduced to *c*, as it often is in Pali; and sometimes in final *ti*, *tu*. Similarly *p* becomes *p*² and remains surd in the combination *pr*—see compounds of *pra-passim*,—and in a few other cases explainable on the ground of a recent revival of Pali scholarship in Siam, and a resulting respelling of certain of these words in order to restore their Indian pronunciation.² These exceptional cases are perhaps sufficiently illustrated in the examples given under v, Order I, above. The whole treatment of Indian *t* and *p* looks very like a genuine consonant-shift, and even the exceptions tend to confirm that impression. I hear that something akin to this took place in some of the south-Indian tongues related to the Sanskrit. It may turn out that what we are here considering is a consonant-shift indeed, but one imported ready-made from India, in a provincial pronunciation of Pali on the part of the Buddhist missionaries who

¹ See p. 20, n.

² An interesting example is the word *Pāli* itself, so spelled and pronounced now, while fifty years ago it was regularly spelled and pronounced *Bāli*—much as though Greek studies should lead us to substitute *piskop* for *bishop*, and much as we have corrected Chaucer's *parfait* to *perfect*. Another example is the well-known *tripitaka* now spelled and pronounced with partial restoration *trayapidok*. This movement has restored some *t*'s as well.

came to Siam. The question, I imagine, could be readily determined by competent students of Indian dialects.¹ Should this suggestion receive confirmation, it might not be impossible to escape the horns of Professor Hempl's formidable trilemma.

Thus have I endeavored to present in brief the ascertained facts regarding the divergence which exists between early Indian loan-words in Siamese and their Indian originals. I cannot but think that somewhere here we have a genuine consonant-shift. Just where in the field of change it is, I cannot yet be sure. I am much more anxious to bring these facts to the attention of scholars who may be able to interpret them conclusively, than I am to champion any premature theories of my own.

¹ I regret that the inevitable limit of time prevents me from following up this question at once, and reporting the results in this paper. Very suggestive, however, is Burnouf's remark : "Çâkyamuni, appelé le *çramaṇa gaṭama* [mots défigurés en *Samanakḥḍom* dans le pays du sud]." — *Dictionnaire Sanskrit-Français*, s.v. *gaṭama*. The Siamese form is almost identical, *Somaṇakhḥḍom*; yet alongside of this we have the simple form *Khōtama*.

III — *Ruscinia*

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IN an Old-English Glossary — published by Goetz in *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, v — occur the words *acalantis*, *vel luscinia vel roscinia*, *nectegela*, which are assigned by Goetz to the eighth century. Their meaning is of course obvious. The form *ruscinia* as a parallel for *luscinia* appears also in a ninth century Ms given by Diez, *Romanisches Wörterbuch*, s.v., citing Mone's *Anzeiger*, vii, 148. These are the Roman sources for the word *ruscinia*. In Latin, as is well known, the everyday name for the nightingale is *luscinia* or *lusciniola*, but in the Romance languages the corresponding names have regularly an initial *r*-, as in *rossignol*, *rossignuolo*, and others.

This paper is an attempt to interpret the glossema above, with its association of the *acalanthis*, *luscinia*, and *ruscinia*, and to present two or three possible theories for the shift from *l*- to *r*- in the two forms. It assumes that the initial *r*- in the Latin variants is the source of that in the later Romance forms. It attempts to treat the matter, in a broad way, with a glance at the natural history, the folk-lore, and the poetic associations, which are inseparably connected with the problem. The subject is of no great importance, and is perhaps justified only in the light of the rather considerable occasional literature that has grown up about it.

The last discussion, so far as I know, is by Professor E. W. Fay, in *Modern Language Notes*, xviii, 195. He also limits the problem to Latin times, and asserts the conviction that the explanations of the shift from *l*- to *r*- in the Romance languages, which attempt to trace the *r*- forms from *luscinia*, are beside the mark. He states the problem with the query "will not the variation of *l*- and *r*- in the Romance languages meet its most satisfactory, as well as its simplest, explanation by appealing to *ruscinia* as a popular etymology, in Low Latin times, of *luscinia*?"

He then attempts to establish this popular etymology by

supposing that the nightingale frequents the *ruscus* of ancient times, now known as *ruscus aculeatus* (thorn-bush or butcher's broom), which is, we may add, a low shrub found distributed over large areas in Southern Europe. Thus in popular parlance the true name *luscinia*, shifted to *ruscinia*, connoting the 'thorn-bush-singer,' because of this assumed direct association of the nightingale with the shrub *ruscus*.

First, however, before discussing in detail Professor Fay's hypothesis, for the sake of completeness, an earlier theory should be examined in this connection. This was first suggested, I believe, by Grammont, in his monograph, *La Dissimilation consonantique*. It is based upon the theory that the *r*- in the derivatives of *hirundinella* may have changed the *l*- of *lusciniola* through the association of the two birds. While preferring this theory, Grammont apparently did not wholly give up the idea that the shift in question may be due to initial dissimilation in the original *lusciniolum* (*op. cit.* 118). Grammont seems to have been unacquainted with the glosses, for he ignores them and apparently assumes that the shift took place after Roman times. The most cogent points of contact cited by him are the myth of Philomela and Procne, the association of the two birds as harbingers of spring, and the association of the *rossignol de muraille* and the *hirondelle* in the country life of modern France.

His evidence for the shift, taken as a phenomenon of the later times, is inadequate and unconvincing. The average reader will agree with Gaston Paris, *Journal des Savants*, Février, 1898, where, in a review of Grammont's work, he refers to both hypotheses: "M. Grammont, tout en croyant que les formes romanes de *lusciniolum* qui remplacent l'*r* initiale par une *l* peuvent être dues à une dissimilation, préfère expliquer l'*r* par l'influence de *hirundinem*. Cette hypothèse me paraît peu vraisemblable; mais il faut réellement admettre que l'*r* de *rossignol* et de ses pareils n'est pas due à la dissimilation, puisqu'on rencontre en bas latin la form *roscinia*, où la dissimilation ne saurait être en cause." The statement of the distinguished reviewer is seemingly conclusive for the dissimilation theory. In the earlier life of Roman times,

however, the association of the two birds was so intimate and many-sided that the association theory must not be so hastily dismissed. The Romance forms for *hirundo* — *rondinella*, *rondola*, and others — may point to a common, perhaps dialectic, byform of *hirundinella* without the initial syllable. Similar cases of procope are, of course, easily found. Even in the realm of popular ornithological nomenclature an example is not wanting. Ernout, *Le Parler de Préneste d'après les Inscriptions*, 16, gives among others, *conea* as the Praenestine form for *ciconia*, 'stork.' His source, of course, is the well-known passage from Plautus, *Truc.* 688:

AST. Perii, 'rabonem.' quam esse dicam hanc beluam?
 Quin tu arrabonem dicis? STR. 'A' facio luci,
 Ut Praenestinis 'conea' est ciconia.

If *ciconia* was shortened to *conea*, *hirundinella* shortened to *rundinella* is not surprising. Now, would (*hi*)*rundinella* react upon *lusciniola* and produce the result sought for? With no theory to prove, Otto Keller, *Thiere des classischen Alterthums*, 319, remarks, "Einer der eigenthümlichsten und bei andern Völkern nicht vorkommenden ist die enge Verwandtschaft Philomelens mit der Schwalbe; sie beruht auf manchen Berührungspunkten, in welchen die beiden Vögel nach der Anschauung des Alterthums zusammentrafen."

Let us examine this in some detail. First there is the well-known myth of Philomela and Procne. In nearly all Greek writers Philomela is the swallow, and Procne the nightingale. In this connection we should note that they are *sisters*, the daughters of Pandion. In nearly all Roman writers these names are reversed, which, again, was a constant source of the confusion. In the sixth Eclogue of Virgil Philomela seems best taken as the swallow, following the Greek tradition. Yet the ambiguity of the whole passage is such that Conington leaves it with the remark that it "certainly looks like a confusion of the habits of the nightingale and swallow." The same ambiguity appears in Hor. *Od.* iv, 12, and in a most remarkable way in Sen. *Her. Oet.* 200 ff. Much of this confusion in the Roman poets is due, doubtless, to the

The describing epithets of the two birds are interchanged in such a way as to defy, at times, all rational individual identification. Both, for example, are lugubrious, both are garrulous, both in Greek are ξουθός in song and color.

In Moschus (if the text be sound) the two birds are associated in the same habitat, and to-day, according to Kaup's *Thierreich*, in both Greece and Italy the swallow (*hirundo urbica*) and the nightingale frequent in strikingly common proximity the same chosen localities.

And lastly, to add one more touch of contact, we are told by Artemidorus that in the dream lore of the Greeks the two birds have almost the same symbolism. Thus much for the lore. For several of the above and many other points of association, v. Keller, *op. cit.* 315.

I can at this time point to only one close parallel in Latin for such a shift of the initial *l*- to *r*-, due to association. Porphyrio, on Hor. *Epist.* ii, 2, 209, seems to imply that the festival of Lemuria was called Remuria by the people, who associated the festival, with its appeasing of ghosts, *lemures*, with Remus and the walls where he met his death. Tradition, too, ascribed the origin of the festival to Romulus. Cf. Otto Keller, *Lateinische Volks-Etymologie*, 40.

This theory for the change, through association, is attractive, and to some it may appear adequate and convincing, yet is it cogent enough to have produced the change demanded? If we accept it, how shall we explain the presence of the bird *acalanthis* in the glosses and in a Servian note to be presented immediately?

This much, however, is certainly true, that if the origin of the form *ruscinia* can be established on some other theory which will more nearly meet all the phases of the problem, then the absolutely unique associations presented in support of Grammont's theory may well have been a very strong influence in sustaining the parallel forms in *r*-.

To return now to Professor Fay's suggested solution of the problem; namely, that the form *ruscinia* is due to the direct association, in the folk-etymology, of the nightingale with the *ruscus*. In the *Cl. Rev.* xviii, 307, he repeats this hypothesis

and adds that "he will be grateful for any evidence to confirm or disprove the fact supposed; namely, that the butcher's broom (*ruscus aculeatus*) in Southern Italy is a favorite haunt of the nightingale."

This hypothesis is very plausible. It meets the philological situation admirably, and we must be grateful to Professor Fay for suggesting it. There is, however, one thing against it which will soon appear. Not trusting my own amateurish observations of the bird in question, which did not confirm the theory in hand, I asked my colleague, Professor Harold Heath, who was spending a year at Naples in the International Zoölogical Station of that city (among other bird problems of the ancient world), to observe the nightingales also, especially in relation to their supposed association with the *ruscus*.

I am deeply grateful to him for his report which is further confirmed by the following note from Professor Umberto Pierantoni, a distinguished professor of zoölogy at the University of Naples.

"The nightingale," says Professor Pierantoni, "is very common in Italy. It is *not* found in the plant (*ruscus aculeatus*), but dwells among the high trees, frequenting especially the poplar tree. It lives also in the forests, near humid places, where it breeds in May, and sings preferably during the spring, in the evening and by night." Professor Pierantoni's observation seems conclusive as regards the problem before us, and at the same time adds new reality to part of Virgil's beautiful though touching scene in the fourth Georgic, where he portrays the nightingale in a poplar tree bemoaning the loss of her nestlings.

Considering all the evidence, the writer is inclined to believe that the following may well be the true solution of the difficulty. The name *ruscinia* was first applied by the people to a bird which really does frequent in great numbers the wide areas of *ruscus* so common everywhere in Italy. This bird was known also to the more learned, by the Greek name *acalanthis*. This bird was then associated in the folk-observation with the nightingale, and in time from this association and the popular confusion of the two birds, the name *ruscinia*

was applied also to the nightingale. This theory explains the associations in the glossary: *acalanthis*, *vel luscinia vel ruscinia*, *nectigal*. Such confusions are commonplaces in ornithological nomenclatures. Our own mocking-bird furnishes many parallels. In many parts of this country the brown-thrush, likewise a great singer and mimic, is dubbed the French mocking-bird. In other parts the name "mocking-bird" is applied to two different species of wrens remarkable for the sweetness of their songs. In England the name "mock-nightingale" is frequently applied to the black-cap and to the sedge-warbler. The latter, in fact, furnishes almost a complete parallel to the case in hand. The bird is called the sedge-warbler from its habitat. So the ruscinia, by our theory. It is then named the mock-nightingale from the sweetness of its song. So the ruscinia may well, from its song, have been associated with the real nightingale (*luscinia*), resulting at last in a confusion of the former name with the original (*luscinia*), until the two existed side by side as names for the nightingale. If other parallels are needed, one may instance the cardinal grosbeak, which in the East is very commonly known as the Virginian nightingale, while in France the redstart is commonly called the *rossignol de muraille*.

The real identification of the *acalanthis* is, however, as yet uncertain. Thompson in his *Glossary of Greek Birds*, and Neri in his monograph *Gli animali nelle opere di Virgilio*, identify it with the goldfinch. This is not convincing, on grounds which I cannot discuss at this time. Warde Fowler, though in this regard not so well known in this country, is an ardent observer of the ways of birds. In one of the charming books, which have resulted from this delightful pastime, *A Year with the Birds*, 243, he makes a very strong case for identifying the *acalanthis* as one of the warblers. He notes in passing that at least one of the *silvidae*, the sedge-warbler, oftentimes carries its song far into the night.

Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* ix, 17, speaks thus of the *acalanthis*: *κακόβιοι καὶ κακόχροοι, φῶνῃν μέντοι λιγυρὰν ἔχουσιν*. These words might be applied equally as well to the nightin-

gale. No bird of equal fame is perhaps less known from actual observation. It should be remembered also that the nightingale is not a thrush, but one of the silvidae, or warblers. Pliny, *N. H.* x, 205, has *acanthis in spinis vivit*. The *acanthis* is the same as the *acalanthis*. Another gloss from Goetz gives us this information, *acalanthis avis vepribus adsueta*. Both words, *spinis* and *vepribus*, are in harmony with and point to *ruscus*. *Ruscus* is glossed in Du Cange as *μυρριανάκωνθος*, which again points to the bird *acalanthis*, just as *ruscus*, by the theory under discussion, points to the *ruscinia*.

Now if the *luscinia* and *acalanthis* were confused, we should expect to find traces of very high appreciation for the song of the latter bird. This is exactly what we do find. There were, as we have already noted, only four bird-singers of high esteem among the Greek and Roman poets. It was well-nigh impossible for others to break into this highly esteemed traditional group. We need not, therefore, be surprised that only two references to the *acalanthis* occur in the Roman poets. The lesser first:

Nyctilon ut cantu rudis exsuperaverit Alcon ?
Astyle, credibile est, si vincat acanthida cornix,
Vocalem superet si dirus aedona bubo. — Cal. *Ecl.* 6, 5.

These associations, of course, are symbolical of the impossible. Here the songs of the *acalanthis* and the nightingale are obviously taken as types of the highest beauty in bird-song, in antithesis to the "raucous calls" of the cornix, and the "lugubrious plaints" of the owl. Erasmus classified the above as popular proverb. The association of the *acalanthis* and nightingale on the same side of the equation is instructive. The more so if we recall that here the *acalanthis* takes a place in the proverb usually held by another of the immortal four.

Tum tenuis dare rursus aquas, et pascere rursus
solis ad occasum, cum frigidus area vesper
temperat, et saltus reficit iam roscida luna,
Litoraue alcyonem resonant, acalanthida dumi.
— Virg. *Georg.* iii, 338.

Here we have in Virgil a calm summer scene. Evening approaches. The background of bird-song is portrayed without its usual touch of sorrow, as, for example, in Hor. *Epod.* 2, 26, who in a somewhat similar situation uses *queruntur* of the birds as they sang. Cf. also Ov. *Her.* 15, 151. The association here of the acalanthis with the halcyon, again in company with one of the immortal four, indicates Virgil's high appreciation of the little singer. As Glover points out, it may well be a recollection in the master poet's mind of his boyhood days on the banks of the Mincio. There are only these two references in the Roman poets. But surely if two appreciative nature poets like Virgil and Calpurnius thought so highly of the acalanthis, there is nothing *a priori* improbable in a confusion of the birds and a blending of their names in the folk-mind and observation. Virgil says that the *dumi*, i.e. the thickets, resound. This word and its parallel *dumetum* are glossed by *ἀκανθεών*, which again points to the bird acalanthis. In this connection Warde Fowler, referring to Lenz, *Botanik der Griechen*, observes that the word *ἀκανθίς* in Greek does not necessarily mean the thistle, but is applied to all kinds of thorny trees and shrubs, such as the *dumi* in which Virgil makes the voice of the bird resound.

I do not believe for a minute that Virgil confused the acalanthis and nightingale. He was far too good an observer for that. But later, as we should expect, if our hypothesis be correct, others *did* confuse the two birds. Observe now, in view of our discussion, what Servius says in a note on the acalanthis passage in hand: *Acalanthis alii lusciniā esse volunt, alii . . . carduelim*. This means, if it means anything at all, that in the time of Servius the confusion assumed as the source of *rusciniā*, and clearly implied in the glosses, was already in evidence. On this hypothesis alone can we explain the glosses and this Servian note, with their double association, of lusciniā on one hand and acalanthis on the other. If this theory for the origin of *rusciniā* be accepted, its survival in the *r*-forms of the Romance languages seems to present no serious difficulty.

IV — *The Criticism of Photius on the Attic Orators*

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As a literary critic, Photius, the scholarly Byzantine of the ninth century, has been comparatively neglected.¹ Although Photius is not a critic *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, yet an examination of his great collection, the *Bibliotheca*,² yields numerous and varied estimates on Greek writers in all provinces except poetry. Very many of these, whether second-hand or original, are of value, and reveal the lexicographer and Patriarch of Constantinople not only as an omnivorous reader, but as a discriminating judge of literature.

It is the object of this paper, however, to present only that portion of the criticism of Photius which deals with the Attic Orators.³

In the discussion of the members of the celebrated Canon of the Ten, a field wherein critics, rhetoricians, and grammarians had worked for centuries, we scarcely expect to find much of independent originality in Photius. But it is of interest to observe in the judgments given what he considers to be of most importance and what sources he largely employs. It may also prove a service to assemble this scattered criticism and present it in English dress.

The first few lines of the criticism on Antiphon⁴ are as follows: "Antiphon in his orations is precise and convincing (*πιθανός* ⁵), clever in invention (*εὑρεσις*), skilful in difficult situations and in arguing from obscure premises, directing his discourses to the laws and the emotions, especially striving for what is becoming." This passage is evidently taken almost *verbatim* from the Sicilian rhetorician at Rome in the time of Augustus, Caecilius, who was the author of numerous

¹ cf. Saintsbury, *Hist. of Crit.* I.² Ed. Bekker, 1824.³ Scattered references to this criticism of Photius on the Attic Orators are to be found, of course, in the treatises of Blass and Jebb.⁴ Cod. 259.⁵ So Hermogenes, in his criticism of Antiphon; cf. Spengel, *Rhet. Gr.* II, 415.

rhetorical works now lost, one of which was entitled *περὶ τοῦ χαρακτήρος τῶν δέκα ῥητόρων*.¹ For this criticism is to be found in the Life of Antiphon, formerly attributed erroneously to Plutarch, where Caecilius is mentioned as the author of a work on Antiphon.² Further, Photius himself quotes Caecilius, and mentions him by name in the following remarks: "The Sicilian Caecilius says that Antiphon does not use the figures of thought, *σχήματα διανοίας*, but expresses himself with directness and simplicity; clever tropes and figures of speech he neither seeks nor uses, but through the thoughts themselves, expressed in natural sequence, he strives to win over the hearer. The old-time orators thought it enough for them to be inventive in argument and to express themselves in exquisite language. In style and its ornamentation they sought first, that it might be expressive and fitting, and, secondly, that there might be a skilful, harmonious arrangement in their composition; for in this they sought to surpass the layman. Further, having said that there are no figures of thought in Antiphon, Caecilius adds, as if correcting himself: I do not mean by this that there is *no* figure of thought to be found in Antiphon, for rhetorical questions and *paraleipsis* occur, and other such figures in his orations. What do I mean, then? That he does not study to use these, nor does he use them constantly, but only where they would be naturally suggested. This use is seen in any amateur writer; wherefore, when one says that his orations are devoid of figures, this statement is not to be taken absolutely that there are none at all, for this is impossible; but they are not in constant, methodical, and forceful use." It is to be seen, then, that practically all of the criticism on Antiphon is taken from Caecilius.

Of the style of Andocides,³ second in the Canon, Photius merely says: "In his orations he is plain and inartificial in arrangement, a lover of simplicity, and embellishes his style by a lack of embellishment, *τῷ ἀσχηματίστῳ σχηματιζόμενος*." This statement is repeated almost *verbatim* from [Plut.] *Vit. Andoc.*⁴

¹ Suidas, s.v. Καικίλιος.

² 832 E.

³ Cod. 261.

⁴ 835 B.

It is not surprising to find this very brief criticism, as the rhetoricians paid scant attention to Andocides.¹

The criticism of Lysias² is of some length and considerable interest: "In his orations Lysias is very concise and convincing, *βραχύτατος καὶ πιθανώτατος*,³ and by not giving the impression of oratorical mastery, he is most clever, if any one has been;⁴ for although he seems easy to imitate, this task is extremely hard.⁵ In not a few of his speeches he is *ἠθικός*, *i.e.* delineates character. Many of his discourses are admirable, and especially is the oration against Diogeiton." This speech Photius praises in detail for purity, clearness, and lack of artificiality, and concludes by saying: "In brief, the whole oration must be admired for its figures and thought, for diction and harmonious arrangement, for invention and marshalling of thought and argument." Of the oration, *On the Sacred Olive*, Photius says that some have doubted its genuineness, but without reason, as may be seen from the arguments of the oration, while proœmium, narrative, and epilogue are wondrously worked out with simplicity in Lysias' customary masterly way. Further, it possesses Lysias' technical finish (*ἀκρίβεια*), and compactness of composition (*τὸ εὐπαγὲς τῶν λόγων*), and charm of brevity, in which excellence Lysias excels all the orators except Demosthenes. It has, too, that beauty of vivid description (*διατύπωσις*), in which Lysias is not inferior to Plato, Demosthenes, or Aeschines. Photius now proceeds to disagree with those critics who deny that Lysias is strong in pathos and in intensity,⁶ and cites as proof the oration *Against Mnesiptolemus*, which we do not possess. He objects also to the statement of Caecilius that Lysias excelled in invention but not in arrangement. To

¹ In fact, only two critical estimates occur, the other being in Hermog. (Speng. II, 416), who severely censures Andocides. Hermog. says that to some Andoc. seems *ἀσαφής*!

² Cod. 262.

³ These words are used in [Plut.] *Vit. Lys.* 836.

⁴ cf. Hermog. (Speng. II, 394), who affirms that all the speeches of Lysias are examples of this concealed *δεινότης*.

⁵ cf. [Plut.] 836: *δοκεῖ δὲ κατὰ τὴν λέξιν εὐκολος εἶναι, δυσμύμητος ὢν.*

⁶ Dion. H. *de Lys.* 19(495) says that *ἀξήσεις* and *δεινώσεις* are not strong virtues of Lysias' style.

these last two original statements of Photius exception must be taken; for, unlike Demosthenes, Lysias won over his hearers, not so much by *πάθος*, or appeal to the emotions, as by *ἥθος*, or delineation of character, and by picturing vividly the circumstances. Issue must be taken, too, with the observation that Lysias does not excel so much in *εὔρεσις* (invention) as *οἰκονομία* (arrangement). With respect to these two points, the consensus of criticism, both ancient and modern, takes the opposite view.¹ As for the sources of the criticism on Lysias, we have seen that the first part is taken directly from [Plut.] *Vitt. Oratt.*, in reality, then, Caecilius again. The remainder, without doubt, is largely from the same source, for we have Caecilius mentioned by name later in the account.²

To Isocrates Photius devotes two articles.³ On page 102 we find the following: "This orator, unlike the nine other orators, of whom Demosthenes was one, chose to be a rhetorician, rather than to be prominent in public affairs. . . . It is immediately evident to the reader that his style possesses distinctness (*εὐκρίνεια*) and purity, and that he devotes much care to the workmanship (*ἐργασία*) of his speeches, so that his orderly arrangement and care are excessive. Now this excess of care in working out his discourses is not more productive of arguments than ineptitude (*τὸ ἀπειρόκαλον*). In delineation of character and truth and 'fiery earnestness' (*γοργότης*⁴) he is deficient. He has an excellent and suitable admixture of clearness with grandeur. But his style is more languid (*ἄτονος*⁵) than it should be. In not the least measure is he to be blamed for his pettiness or love of the trivial

¹ cf. Dion. H. *ibid.*: καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἡθῶν γε πλίστεις ἀξιολόγως πᾶν κατασκευάζειν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ . . . περὶ τὰ πάθη μαλακώτερός ἐστι.

² p. 489, b, 13.

³ 159 and 260.

⁴ So Hermog. (Speng. II, 412): γοργότητος δὲ οὐδὲν ὅλως παρὰ τοῦτω. Of the various translations suggested for this term, that of Jebb, *fiery earnestness*, seems best.

⁵ Or as Dion. H. *de Isoc.* 2 says of his λέξις: ὑπτία δὲ ἐστὶ μᾶλλον καὶ κεχυμένη πλουσίως, οὐδὲ δὴ σύντομος οὕτως ἀλλὰ καὶ κατασκελὴς καὶ βραδυτέρα τοῦ μετρίου. Hermog. (*op. cit.*) designates this weakness of Isoc., εἰ καὶ δυσχερὲς εἰπεῖν, τὸ ὑπτιόν τε καὶ ἀναβεβλημένον καὶ τὸ πρεσβυτικὸν καὶ διδασκαλικόν.

(σμικρολογία) and a disgusting use of balanced clauses (παρισώσεις¹). But we make these observations in reference to the excellence of his speeches, indicating their virtues and defects, since, in comparison with some of those who have essayed to write speeches, even his defects would appear virtues." In Cod. 260 there is a discussion of the *Panegyricus*, with comment on the excessive care in workmanship in this oration, which is a proof of the length of time which the orator must have expended on it. Later in the article it is judged a fault in Isocrates that he makes such sparing use of vigorous figurative diction, so that, because of this defect, he is not *ἐναγώνιος*.² As for the sources of Photius' criticism on Isocrates, no direct and extensive borrowing can be actually shown. But it is altogether probable that it is taken from Caecilius, which we have seen to be the case in the criticisms on the other orators.

Isaeus,³ we are told by Photius, was a pupil of Lysias, and imitated him in arrangement of words and in his cleverness in handling his subject-matter, ἡ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι δεινότης. Further, his speeches resemble so closely those of Lysias that it is only by great care and study that one can distinguish the style of the two, except in regard to the figures, πλὴν κατὰ γε τοὺς σχηματισμούς. For Isaeus was first to use figures *πρῶτος σχηματίζειν ἤρξατο*,⁴ and to turn his mind to civil oratory, and in this he was imitated especially by Demosthenes. This whole criticism is repeated almost *verbatim* from [Plut.] *Vitt. Oratt.* 839.

Of the style of Demosthenes⁵ we find no general critical

¹ In the *Blos 'Isokράτους*, Anon. (West. *Script. Gr. Min.* p. 257), Isoc. is said to imitate Gorgias in the use of *παρισώσεις*, but not to the point of satiety as Gorgias. But Dion. H. *de Isoc.* 13 says that he is guilty of a *puerile* use of *ἀντιθέσεις*, *παρισώσεις*, and *παρομοιώσεις*.

² So Dion. H. *de Dem.* 18 says of Isoc.: *ἀπολμός ἐστι περὶ τὰς τροπικὰς κατασκευάς*.
³ Cod. 263.

⁴ Jebb, *Attic Orators*, II, 286, in explanation of his strange statement in reference to one who came after Isocrates says: "While Isaeus usually avoids the figures of language he uses the figures of thought with a freedom which brings him decidedly nearer than any of his predecessors to the practice of their greatest master, Demosthenes."

⁵ Cod. 265.

estimate in Photius. The lengthy account is devoted to the personality and public life of the great orator, including considerable discussion relative to the authenticity of certain orations. All references throughout the *Bibliotheca*, however, are in harmony with that universal paean of praise in critics, ancient and modern.

Two short articles are devoted to Aeschines,¹ wherein are found excellent criticisms of the style of that clever orator: "Aeschines has, as it were, a natural and improvised (*αὐτοφυῆς καὶ αὐτοσχέδιος*) style, so that one admires not so much his art (*τέχνη*) as his native ability (*φύσις*²). . . . His language is simple and intelligible, and in the structure of his composition he is neither too languid (*ἄτονος*) as Isocrates, nor concise (*πεπιεσμένος*) and condensed (*συνεσφιγμένος*) as Lysias. In spirit (*πνεῦμα*) and intensity (*τόνος*) he is not inferior to Demosthenes. He makes use of figures of thought and language not in order to seem to speak artfully (*σὺν τέχνῃ*), but as if the subject under consideration made their use absolutely necessary, wherefore his discourse seems free from guile (*ἀπανοῦργος*) somehow, and especially appropriate for public and private speeches, for neither in arguments nor sentiments is any speech continuous and too forced."

Of the style of Lycurgus³ there is no criticism; of Deinarchus,⁴ brief mention, but to Hypereides⁵ praise as follows: "He is excellent in the workmanship of his orations, so much so that it gives room to some for dispute whether Demosthenes is superior or inferior in this. Some actually award the victory to Hypereides."

This, then, concludes the Canon of the Ten. We have seen that the source of practically all of the important criticism of the Attic orators in Photius is the lost treatise of Caecilius of Calacte. Not only is Caecilius mentioned and

¹ 61 and 264.

² With this statement we may aptly quote the Scholiast to Aesch. (Sauppe, *O. A.* II, 26), who refers the statement to Caecilius, Idomeneus, and Hermippus: *ἔστιν αὐτοῦ ἡ ἰδέα τοῦ λόγου καὶ ἀτεχνος μὲν καὶ προπετής . . . ἔχουσα δέ τι εὐφυνὲς καὶ εὐάγων καὶ ὅλον ἂν γένοιτό τινι ἐκ φύσεως καὶ μελέτης ἀφανοῦς.*

³ Cod. 268.

⁴ Cod. 267.

⁵ Cod. 266.

quoted frequently,¹ but numerous statements, as we have observed, are identical or nearly so with criticisms in the pseudo-Plutarch, *Lives of the Ten Orators*.² Now, this compilation for its criticisms on style, etc., follows closely the work of Caecilius, as he is frequently mentioned by name. We have found, also, that where Photius dissents from the judgment of Caecilius, he does so without good reason. It is fortunate, then, for the reputation of Photius that these criticisms on the orators are not the sole material from which we may judge of his originality as a literary critic. The general subject of the literary criticism in Photius, wherein his independence in other fields may be seen, I expect to treat in a subsequent paper.

¹ Caec. quoted on Aesch. p. 20, a, 11; on Antiph. 485, b, 15; 485, b, 41; 486, a, 4; on Isoc. 486, b, 6; on Lysias, 489, b, 13.

² cf. Phot. 485, b, ll. 11-14 with [Plut.] *Vita* 832 E; Phot. 488, a, 18 ff. with [Plut.] 835 B; Phot. 488, b, 18 with [Plut.] 836 B; Phot. 490, a, 15-20 with [Plut.] 839 E.

V — *The Theatre as a Factor in Roman Politics under the Republic*

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IN our day political opinion finds expression, or enthusiasm for a cause or a candidate is stimulated, through the public press, on the platform, with its accessories in the way of processions and receptions, and at the elections. In Rome under the Republic the two last-mentioned methods of testing popular sentiment are to be found, but the place which the press holds with us as an organ for the expression of public opinion on political matters seems to have been taken by the theatre, for, as Cicero says in his oration for Sestius, "in three places especially the judgment and desire of the Roman people can be made known, viz. at the *contio* [or gatherings for public discussion], at the *comitia* [or meetings of the popular assemblies], and when the people come together at the games and the gladiatorial contests."¹ He then proceeds to discuss at some length,² in the subsequent chapters of his oration, the attitude of the people in their public meetings, at the ballot-box, and at the plays and games, and comes to the conclusion³ that public opinion found true expression only at the theatrical performances and the gladiatorial contests. Was this true? Was the theatre such an important political factor and the only correct index of public feeling in Cicero's day? His conclusion cannot be accepted without question because he is not an unprejudiced judge of the matter. The demonstrations in the theatre and at the games during the period of his exile, of which he is speaking here, had favored him, but the *con-tiones* and the *comitia* of that year had been hostile to him.

¹ Cicero, *pro Sestio* 106. Some of the passages cited in this paper might not be entirely clear apart from the context in which they stand, so that I have thought it wise to give them in translation, and in such an English form as will bring out the points of interest to us.

² *ibid.* 106-127.

³ *ibid.* 127.

This situation might account for his view that the real sentiments of the people were best indicated in the theatre. It is worth while considering the correctness of his statement by examining very briefly the condition of the *contiones* and *comitia* under the late Republic, and by glancing at the part which the theatre played in political life. A complete presentation of all the evidence would be out of place here, nor is it necessary for our purpose.

It is convenient to approach the subject from the negative side and to ask, first, if Cicero's low estimate of the political organizations of his day is correct. On this point there can be little doubt. The city of Rome grew at a tremendous rate during the first century B.C., and most of the newcomers were men of little worth. They were discouraged and bankrupt farmers; free laborers, who were driven out of the country districts by slavery; ne'er-do-weels, who wished to live upon the largess of the state; men attracted to Rome by the theatre, the games, and the other amusements and excitements which the city had to offer; people who preferred to live by their wits rather than by the labor of their hands, and found a more promising field in Rome for the exercise of their talents than the small towns and the country offered; the veterans, whose long terms of service in the field had made it wellnigh impossible for them to take up contentedly or successfully the humdrum life of a farmer or artisan; and, finally, the hordes of freedmen who had low standards of political honor and little sympathy with Roman political traditions. All these people had the right to the suffrage, and their vote was a saleable article of considerable value. They naturally attached themselves to some political leader; they were organized into companies, and cast their votes as they were instructed. From meetings of the tribal assemblies made up largely of such elements one could hardly expect an honest expression of opinion. The low moral character of the electoral and legislative bodies was not the only charge to be made against them. They were centres of chicanery and turbulence. One sees the consul Metellus slipping into the Campus by a roundabout route to prevent a political

opponent from announcing that the auspices were unfavorable,¹ or Milo anticipating the other party by occupying the Campus with an armed force at midnight on the day before the election, and holding it until noon against the opposite side "to the unbounded delight of everybody and to his own great credit," as Cicero regards the manœuvre. Or sometimes political workers block up the approaches to the ballot-boxes or see to it that ballots of one kind only are supplied to the voters.² The honesty of elections was vitiated still more flagrantly by the use of force. For this purpose bands of retainers were organized and drilled,³ and by their use the *comitia* were overawed and peaceable citizens were kept away from the meetings. The illegal employment of money was even more fatal to honest elections than the use of force. Probably bribery has never been so prevalent as it was during the last century of the Republic. To this fact the bribery laws of 67, 63, 55, and 52 B.C., with their increasing penalties and ingenious devices for securing evidence, abundantly testify.⁴ Bribery was reduced to a system. The baser citizens were formed into political clubs, and professional agents were employed in organizing and paying venal voters. The use of money was carried to such an extent in 54 B.C., for instance, that every one of the candidates for the consulship in that year was indicted for bribery.⁵

The state of the *contiones* for the discussion of public questions was still worse. Here the test of citizenship was not applied, and the meetings were packed with freedmen and slaves⁶ whose *clamor contionalis* became a byword. Companies of bravoos were organized,⁷ who drowned the voice of a hostile speaker, drove him from the rostra, or converted the place of meeting into a veritable shambles.⁸ A frequent concomitant of these public meetings was a demonstration in the streets. Thus, Cicero tells us⁹ that Caesar tried to lead the mob from the *contio* to surround the house of Bibulus,

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* iv. 3. 4.² *ibid.* i. 14. 5.³ *pro Sest.* 34; *ad Att.* i. 13. 3.⁴ *ad Att.* i. 16. 13.⁵ *ad Q. fr.* iii. 2. 3; *ad Att.* iv. 17. 2.⁶ *ad Att.* ii. i. 8; ii. 16. 1.⁷ *pro Sest.* 34.⁸ *ad Q. fr.* ii. 3. 2-4; *ibid.* i. 2. 15; *pro Sest.* 77.⁹ *ad Att.* ii. 21. 5.

and during the scarcity of grain Clodius induced his audience to march through the streets and threaten the senate.¹ The counterpart to these outbursts of popular passion was furnished by the street demonstrations in honor of a political leader. Sometimes they were of an impromptu character, like the great company which escorted Cicero home when he laid down the office of consul, or like the ovation which he received on returning from exile;² or they were carefully prepared, like the organized escorts of honor upon which so much stress is laid in the little pamphlet on *Candidacy for the Consulship*. All these facts fully substantiate Cicero's statement that the opinion of the Roman people on political matters did not find free and honest expression in an ordinary meeting of the *contio* or *comitia*.

Is the rest of his assertion equally trustworthy? Was the theatre a political factor to be reckoned with, and did it indicate the real course of the political current? In the theatre the sentiment of the people was indicated on occasions of two sorts, either when a political leader entered, or when a passage in a play applied, or was thought to apply, to a local situation. We have several interesting reports of cases where demonstrations of the first kind occurred. For instance, the popularity of Curio's course in 59 B.C. was clearly shown by the enthusiasm which his coming into the theatre aroused,³ whereas the faint applause with which Caesar was received⁴ when he entered was so significant of the attitude of the people that it created great anxiety in the democratic party, and in the opinion of the conservative Cicero was likely to bring about a political reaction, and this in spite of the fact that Caesar controlled the *contiones* and *comitia*. How Hortensius was received after having taken an unpopular course in a notorious political trial Caelius cleverly describes by applying to the roar of disapproval of the great throng in the theatre when Hortensius entered, and their derisive whistling, an onomatopoetic line from the famous storm passage in Pacuvius, "The rumbling, roaring, rolling thunder, and the whistling of the cordage,"

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* iv. 1. 6.² *ibid.* iv. 1.³ *ibid.* ii. 18. 1.⁴ *ibid.* 19. 3.

and he adds this comment: "This was the more noticed, because Hortensius had reached old age unassailed by hisses; but on that occasion he was roundly enough hissed to satisfy any man his life long, and to make Hortensius regret at last his victory at the trial."¹ Bribery and the use of force, which made political meetings and elections an untrustworthy indication of the sentiment of the people, could not be used with equal success in the theatre. Honest and peaceable citizens could be kept away from the *contiones* and *comitia*, but no Roman would give up the high privilege of seeing the play. Bands of hired political supporters might try to give their employer an enthusiastic welcome and to convey the impression that an unpopular leader had the support of the citizens, but their applause would be drowned by the hisses of the great mass of the people, or would pale into insignificance before the enthusiasm aroused by the entrance of the leader of the opposite party. Under the Empire, even after public meetings had been given up and the *comitia* had disappeared, the public clung to their right of expressing in the theatre or at the games their approval or disapproval of the conduct of the emperor.

More interesting still were references from the stage to contemporary persons or events. Sometimes the playwright himself introduced the reference, sometimes the actor applied to the local situation a passage which in the play as it came from the pen of the playwright had no such significance. In proportion as it kept itself free from Hellenizing influences, the lighter forms of the national drama would seem always to have referred to contemporary affairs with considerable freedom. The attitude of Naevius, the first great writer of comedy, is clearly indicated in a passage in the *Agitatoria*, "Freedom (of speech) I have always esteemed more highly than money and held as much to be preferred to it";² and the following defiant sentiment he puts into the mouth of the people, "Against that of which I have approved in the theatre no tyrant dares transgress."³ These statements and other

¹ Cic. *ad fam.* viii. 2. 1.

² Ribbeck, *Com. Rom. Fr.*, Naev. 9-10.

³ *ibid.* Naev. 72-73.

bold ones to be found elsewhere in the extant fragments of his comedies,¹ the story of his imprisonment for his freedom in criticising men and things,² as given by Gellius, and the epigram upon him which emphasizes his "superbia Campana,"³ show clearly enough the freedom with which he spoke of prominent men and events of his own time, even if his daring fling at the scandal connected with Scipio's birth⁴ and his bold hint that the Metelli owed the consulship to good luck rather than to personal merit⁵ had not come down to us. Plautus refers frequently to general conditions in his own time, but, either warned by the fate of Naevius, or in obedience to the tendency which becomes more and more apparent in Caecilius and Terence, says little or nothing which could give offence to specific individuals. Whether references were made to political affairs in the *togatae* it is difficult to say, because of the scanty fragments which we have of this form of the drama, but that they were a characteristic feature of the mime seems to be clear from the famous passage at arms between the actors and playwrights, Laberius and Syrus,⁶ and from Cicero's mock anxiety lest Laberius make his friend Trebatius the hero of one of his farces. An interesting passage in one of Cicero's letters from 44 B.C.⁷ shows what an important political factor the mime was. Cicero remarks to Atticus: "I received two letters from you yesterday. From the first one I learned about the theatre and Publilius [Syrus the playwright] — encouraging indications of a united populace. The applause, in fact, given to Lucius Cassius seemed to me at any rate a delicate compliment." That writers of mimes occupied themselves with political matters may be inferred also from other statements in the Letters of Cicero. In one of these he hints at passages descriptive of Caesar's exploits in the plays which Laberius and Publilius Syrus brought out at the dramatic festival given by the dictator to celebrate his victory at Thapsus. Speaking of his own philosophical acceptance of

¹ Ribbeck, Naev. 20, 111-112.

⁴ Ribbeck, Naev. 108-110.

⁶ Macrob. Sat. ii. 7.

² Gellius, iii. 3. 15.

⁵ Ps. Ascon. p. 140, ed. Or.

⁷ Cic. ad Att. xiv. 2. 1; ad fam. xii. 2. 2.

³ *ibid.* i. 24. 1.

the political situation, he says, "In fact, I have already become so callous, that at the games given by our friend Caesar, with perfect equanimity I gazed upon Titus Plancus and listened to the productions of Laberius and Publilius."¹ In another letter he remarks to Atticus, "You will write to me if you have anything of practical importance; if not, describe to me fully the attitude of the people [in the theatre] and the local hits in the mimes."²

We have noticed that all the extant passages in which playwrights refer to contemporary politics are to be found in the lighter forms of the drama. On the other hand, the verses which actors apply to politicians or public events of their own time occur mainly in tragedy. How frequently lines were applied in this way and how quick the audience was to see the application is clear from a passage in Cicero's oration in defence of Sestius, "Not to pass over even this point, among the many and varied utterances [on the stage] there has never been a passage in which some sentiment expressed by a poet seemed to apply to our own time, which either escaped the whole audience or which the actor himself did not bring out."³ An illustration of the alertness of the people in this respect is furnished by an incident mentioned in the same connection.⁴ The *Andromacha Aechmalotis* of Ennius was being given, and when the passage "I have seen it all enveloped in flames," which describes the burning of Priam's palace, was reached, the actor and the audience applied it to the destruction of Cicero's house by Clodius, and the people burst into tears at the thought of the wrong done their great leader. The passage from Accius,⁵ "You permit him to be an exile; you allow him to be driven out; you put up with his banishment," brought to the dullest mind the picture of the exile in Thessalonica, while "Tullius who had been the bulwark of the liberty of the citizens" was encored again and again; and when, in giving the *Simulans* of Afranius, the entire company of actors turned toward the place where Clodius sat and thundered at him the lines, "This, O foul,

¹ Cic. *ad fam.* xii. 18. 2.² *ad Att.* xiv. 3. 2.³ *pro Sest.* 118.⁴ *ibid.* 121.⁵ *ibid.* 122.

base man, is the outcome and conclusion of the life of a libertine,"¹ even that stormy petrel of politics was aghast at the probable effect of the incident on popular sentiment. Pompey felt the same anxiety at the *ludi Apollinares* in 59 B.C., when the tragedian Diphilus applied to him some lines from a play in which he was acting,² and Pacuvius' line, "To think that I have saved them that they might destroy me," which Caesar's followers, after his death, put in the mouth of their leader, probably played no small rôle in arousing the wrath of the people against the conspirators.³ Now and then a player who found he had struck a popular chord followed up his success by improvising a line, as an actor in a play of Accius did on a certain occasion.⁴

A study of the theatre as a political factor under the Empire lies outside the scope of this paper, but the theatre or circus continued to furnish almost the only means which the great mass of the people had for expressing their opinion on public men or public questions.⁵

¹ Cic. *pro Sest.* 123.

² *ad Att.* ii. 19. 3.

³ Suet. *Jul.* 84.

⁴ Cic. *pro Sest.* 121.

⁵ Suet. *Aug.* 53; *Tib.* 45; *Nero*, 39; *Galba*, 13.

VI—*Choriambic Dimeter and the Rehabilitation of the Antispast*

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THIS paper is a criticism of the "new metric" and a defence (broadly speaking) of the principles of Apel as developed by Rossbach, Schmidt, and Christ. But I am more concerned to contribute to the elucidation of the issue than to maintain the view to which I incline. A theory that numbers among its adherents (to ignore minor differences) such scholars as von Wilamowitz, Schroeder, Weil, Masqueray, and now strangely Gleditsch and John Williams White, inevitably attracts attention and is likely to be accepted as the latest conclusion of science. But the number of those who have the faintest notion of what it is all about is incredibly small. The general principles of metric are not very difficult for those who possess the indispensable prerequisites—a rhythmical ear and the habit of reading aloud both Greek and modern poetry. But the subject has been hopelessly confused by polemic, the intrusion of questions of mere historical erudition, and the impossibility of agreement in the use of terms. From Aristeides Quintilianus, who classifies glyconics as dochmiacs,¹ and Hephaestion, who in one place (iv, 5) pronounces ἄδ' Ἀρτεμῖς, ὁ κόραι anapaestic and in another (xi, 2) ionic, to Herkenrath,² who affirms that — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — is a glyconic, writers on metric are unable to employ their over-elaborated terminology consistently with themselves or with one another. And though they are doubtless all aware, they rarely warn us that all metrical notations are merely convenient paedagogical devices, approximate schematic suggestions of niceties to which only the living voice or a minute specific description in each case can do justice. I have, therefore, not attempted an im-

¹ *de Musica*, p. 39

² *Der Enoplios*, p. 17 sqq.

possible precision in the use of terms and schemes, but have endeavored to make my meaning unambiguous in its context. The main argument is so repeated and varied that it ought to be understood and require an answer. It is independent of any real or seeming inadvertencies in the illustrations or *obiter dicta*.

The chief difficulty at the start is to ascertain whether the question is one of purely erudite and historic interest, or is supposed to involve appreciable differences in *viva voce* practice. It is possible with the schemes of Rossbach, Schmidt, or Christ, the schemes of Jebb's Sophocles and Gildersleeve's Pindar, to teach students to read with appreciation the choruses of tragedy and the odes of Pindar. I have succeeded, with at least one student in each class, for twenty years. The aesthetic effect obtained, the pleasure received, is precisely analogous to that enjoyed by appreciative readers of Shelley and Swinburne. The fundamental convention of Greek verse once granted,—the ignoring of the word "accent,"—there is no consciousness of any difference in principle between Greek and English metre. Both are rhythmically stressed, and both, if we regard the practice of the better English poets, are quantitative—though English less exquisitely so. I am not sufficiently versed in the calculus of probabilities to estimate the chances that this result is a coincidence and an illusion. And before listening to any such calculation I should wish to know whether the calculator could himself read at sight the measures of Pindar, Aeschylus, Shelley, and Swinburne at the least. But even if it be conceded that our reading may be an illusion, and that the Greeks may have recited poetry in ways that we cannot conceive, our classical teaching cannot afford to sacrifice the high pleasure which the "illusion" yields, its indispensable contribution to the full aesthetic enjoyment of Greek poetry.

Now the new schemes, as a matter of fact, confuse the tiro. They are paedagogically more difficult. Such notations as $\infty \infty \infty$ or $\sim \sim \sim \sim \sim \sim \sim \sim$ or $\sim \sim / \sim \sim / \sim \sim$ convey no glimmer of meaning to the

average student. Do they, when rightly understood, stand for an appreciably different *viva voce* reading or not?

Writers on metric, and especially the "new metrists," have apparently got beyond these elementary questions. For them the ultimate elements of analysis seem to be Reizianum, Telesilleion, Enoplios, Praxilleion, choriambic dimeter, antispastic syzygy, dochmiac, ithyphallic, Pherecratean and the like, which they rarely find it necessary to translate into the underlying physiologico-psychological facts of speech and the rhythmic sense, into the natural or rhythmically imposed stresses, holds, pauses, and accelerations of word and phrase group. They reason solely in terms of measurement (*Messung*). Now if the signs \cup and $-$ are taken literally as one or two morae, it is impossible to 'measure' either Greek or English verse. If, as we must, we admit irrational syllables, trisemes, etc., and a *βραχεία βραχείας ἐλάσσων*,¹ their measurement and the place of their occurrence cannot be disassociated from questions of rhythmic stress, holds, and pauses. For it is these, variously combined with the natural variations in the weight or length of syllables, that chiefly permit or determine other variations than that between one and two morae. Without such rhythmic modification of the absolute 'entweder-oder' of long and short, "measurement" is impossible. With it a plausible measurement can be worked out by either feet or longer groups. But by rejecting all signs except $-$ and \cup the new metrists leave us to conjecture how much, if any, rhythmical interpretation they would read into their schemes. They merely write out the schemes and affirm from time to time that every rhythmical ear will perceive their superiority.

If we still seek for definite arguments, they tell us: (1) That we cannot assume the rhythmical sense of the ancients to be the same as ours. (2) That metric ought to be studied historically. (3) That we must suppose Hephaestion and the ancient metrists generally to possess the true tradition. (4) That schemes constructed on this assumption fit the extant texts.² Now no one of these propositions can be

¹ Christ, p. 41-2, p. 77.

² cf. *infra*, pp. 70-71.

accepted without many qualifications. But the chief objection to them as arguments is that they do not raise a definite issue that can be tested by experience.

(1) In proportion as we study any foreign system of verse alleged fundamental differences between its rhythm and that to which we are accustomed tend to disappear. Metrically uneducated Englishmen think that the rhythm of the best French verse is either bad or totally unlike our own. That is not the opinion of Swinburne, the greatest living master of both. It is highly improbable that the identity of the pleasure which those who really know both receive from Greek and English rhythms is an illusion. The supposition is at the best an unverifiable hypothesis of conjectural scholarship. If it is true, it can never form a part of our experience and is nothing to us.

(2) Metric may be studied historically and so may logic. But there is an *a priori* element in logic, and the essentials of metric are little affected by racial, still less by tribal, idiosyncrasies. We may for convenience denominate certain measures Ionian and others Aeolic or even "Chalcidic," but there is neither historical evidence nor *a priori* probability for the assumption of a specific Aeolian or Ionian metrical art that developed fixed *clausulae*, which Pindar, Simonides, and the tragedians were constrained to incorporate unaltered in their own larger constructions.

It is doubtless true, as Dr. Herkenrath affirms,¹ "dass sich im Strophenbau gewisse Gewohnheiten erkennen lassen." But the mere possibility of metrical equations is not enough to establish the historical and rhythmical actuality of the resemblances that they suggest. Patience and ingenuity can discover many metrical equations in given series of longs and shorts. But specific rhythmical reasons are required in each case to convert the possibility of isolating similar metrical groups into the reality of rhythmical identity.²

So of the attempt to treat the antithesis of "license" or "stylized" exactness of responsion on strict historical principles. Both pedantic metrical precision and the rhythmic

¹ *Der Enoplios*, p. 167.

² *infra*, p. 74 sqq.

freedom which snatches a grace beyond the reach of syllable-counting art are possible any time and anywhere after Homer and Archilochus. They depend on the ear and the instinct of the individual poet and his plastic mastery of language. Tribal traditions, rules of the school, the conventions of a particular verse form, the prevalence of popular song and dance measures are also doubtless real factors. But the extent of their influence in each case must be established by positive evidence and the judgment of the educated ear, and no *a priori* presumption in favor of the application of the historical method to this branch of philology also is of any weight.

What we call freedom of substitution or irregularity of respension is not only the license of popular verse before art, but the rational liberty of the maturest art.¹ The rhythmic sense does not demand precise syllabic respension.² It is content with any quantitative equivalence of dissyllables and trisyllables which the poet can find or arrange without violently violating the normal quantities and stresses of the language in which he writes. It is merely a question whether the substitute can be easily uttered in the normal time of the bars among which it occurs. The substitution in descending rhythm of tribrachs for dactyls,³ of short dactyls⁴ or tribrachs for trochees, or its retardation by spondees; the interchange in ascending rhythm not only of spondees, anapaests, and apparent dactyls, but of heavy iambs, tribrachs slightly retarded, or light anapaests; the occasional use even of proceleusmatics⁵ and apparent pyrrhics⁶ — these “licenses” which we meet in the best verse of

¹ cf. Rossbach und Westphal, ed. 1889, III, ii, 378, 508–10 sqq.; v. Wilamowitz, *Choriambic Dimeter*, *Berliner Akademie*, 1902, 2, p. 890.

² *infra*, p. 72.

³ cf. Schmidt, p. 158; Christ, § 603.

⁴ Aristoph. *Acharn.* 318.

⁵ In “anapaests,” Ar. *Nubes*, 916; Aesch. *Pers.* 934, etc. In “logaoedics,” Eurip. *I. A.* 322, λευκοστίκτη τριχὶ βαλλούς.

⁶ Only the arbitrary assumption (cf. Christ, pp. 358, 392, 521) that \sqcup cannot be resolved, or that $\cup \cup$ cannot be pronounced as virtual equivalent of \sqcup or \sqcup , prevents the recognition of this in so-called cretic-trochaic metres; e.g. in Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 1014, οὐδέν ἐστι θηρίον γυναικὸς ἀμαχώτερον, where ἀμα $\cup \cup$ is a virtual

Milton, Shelley, Tennyson, and Swinburne—are *a priori* and independently of all historical considerations to be expected in any developed metrical art. The thing which requires historical explanation is their restriction by the *ῥθος* or convention of any particular verse form. The restriction may be due to a temperamental preference for "regular," smooth, and dignified rhythm, or to the inability of a defective rhythmical sense to disassociate rhythmical from syllabic equivalence. And on the other side, as in modern music, it may not be easy to decide in extreme cases whether an apparent license is a discord or a subtler harmony. But this is no reason for confounding the freedom of the great artist either with the roughness of the primitive or the carelessness of the incompetent. Metrical schemes may be constructed to exhibit identical irregularities in the verse of Byron and Swinburne. But the one remains (metrically) bad and the other good.

Metrical signs, then, are a very imperfect measure of the admissibility and the rhythmizing of substitutions. The degrees of quantity in language and the ear's perception of them in varying contexts cannot be adequately indicated without hopelessly complicating our notation. Our schemes equalize $\text{—} \cup \text{—} \text{—}$ by $\text{—} \cup \text{—} \text{—}$. But in practice we may do it by a slight extension of both the short and long, or in other ways, helped by word-ending, it may be, or stress. H. Schmidt himself (*Metrik*, p. 272) admits that we need not and cannot read exactly $\text{—} \cup \text{—} \text{—}$. A "cyclic" dactyl may be shorter because the long syllable is imperfectly long, or both of the shorts exceptionally short, or one of them so light as hardly to count at all, or for a combination of these causes with the stresses and *ῥθος* of the phrase. A trochee or iamb may be retarded by unusual weight in the long syllable or because

trochee. Cf. also *ὑπέρσαι*, Theoc. 28, 16, where anapaestic pronunciation would break the continuity of the choriambic movement. If I were not unwilling to burden this paper with seeming paradox, I would go on to show that Pind. *O.* 2 will, in spite of Schmidt, p. 498, work out in $\frac{3}{4}$ time on the assumption that a "long" pyrrhic may sometimes replace a trochee. The very restrictions on the normal resolution of — to $\cup \cup$ (Christ, p. 56) show that when aided by word break or stress (as e.g. in Pind. *Pyth.* 5 strophe, l. 4) $\cup \cup$ tends to be longer than — , just as in many anapaests and anacruses it tends to be shorter.

the short is imperfectly short. A tribrach may serve as a dactyl because of an adjoining pause, a heavy stress or rhetorical or interrogative accent, or because some or all of its shorts are imperfectly short.¹ All this is elementary to readers of Coleridge, Shelley, and Swinburne. It is perpetually being rediscovered by rhythmists who rise in revolt against syllable-counting metrists, and, though the essence of it is found in Aristoxenos, is generally attributed in America to Sidney Lanier.² What prevents the universal recognition of it is the habit of taking absolutely the undeniable differences between Greek and English metre. Because quantities in English verse are largely influenced by word and logical stress, and "irregularities" may be rhythmized by compensation in adjoining feet,³ it is inferred that English verse has no quantity. Because the broad distinction of long and short is fixed in Greek syllables, it is inferred that the limit of their variation is either — and ∪ or, at the most for rhythmic purposes, the precisely measured >, ⊥, ⊢, etc. But as a matter of fact, even apart from rhythmical *plasma*, the natural length of Greek syllables admitted not two but at least five or six degrees variously modified, not only by vowel quantity and consonant framework, but by word or logical accent, pauses, rough breathings, and the entire speech context. This obvious fact⁴ is stated with perfect clearness by Aristides Quintilianus⁵ and by Dionysius,⁶ and is the element of truth in the otherwise absurd speculations of the scholiast on Hephaestion about the effects of neighboring accents and breathings on quantity.⁷

Starting from these natural degrees of quantity, the rhythmic sense had considerable freedom of play in the *plasma* of

¹ Schmidt, *Metrik*, § 11, Die sogenannten irrationalen Silben, is really in accord with all this, though seemingly contradictory of it.

² Goodell, *Chapters on Greek Metric*, p. 83.

³ cf. *infra*, p. 73.

⁴ See Goodell, pp. 87, 114.

⁵ p. 46-7 M.

⁶ *de Comp Verb.* c. 15, 22.

⁷ Gaisford, I, 156 sqq. Goodell's rejection of this (p. 13) as "nothing more than a bit of abstract theory" is merely a protest against the misapplication of it when rhythmical convention requires definite shorts and longs (Schmidt, p. 232). Rhythm makes use of (Dionys. *de Comp. Verb.* xi) but may disregard these minor natural variations (Goodell, pp. 87, 114).

song or declamation. The extreme limits of this variation it is not necessary to determine. Aristeides Quintilianus fixed it at four *morae*, but his reasons are fanciful.¹

It is impossible to say how long a syllable could be held in song, or how far good taste would permit the imitation of song in declamation.² The essential thing to bear in mind is that within the extreme limits there are many more gradations than any practicable notation can designate, and, therefore, all metrical schemes are subject to rhythmical interpretation. If this is what the new metrists mean by their insistence on irregularities of responsion, as measured by the old feet, we may concur with them. Dissent begins only when they infer (*a*) that it is good pedagogy to omit all indications of the rhythmical reading;³ (*b*) that what we call rhythmic substitutions can be used as historic evidence for the special forms in which they cast their purely metrical schemes.

A rapid dactyl (or tribrach) is independently of all historical considerations a possible substitute in a trochaic series. The shifting of the place of the dactyl in so-called first, second, and third glyconics may affect the ἦθος; it does not essentially alter the rhythm. The polyschematic glyconics or "choriambic dimeters" of Euripides may or may not be suited to the ἦθος of tragedy. Personally I dislike their monotonously irregular lilt. But they are and always were possible variations of the glyconic. The occurrence of one in Anacreon ὑψηλὰς ὀρέων κορυφὰς and another in the Berlin fragments of Sappho — κεσσιν ὡς ποτ' ἄέλιος — is no ground for either surprise or triumph. And the question whether we shall or shall not emend them out interests philology, but not pure metric. Neither this fact nor the fact that Corinna, Ταναγρίδεσσι λευκοπέπλοις,⁴ also employs the variant justifies the sweeping inference that this was the original and

¹ *de Musica*, p. 33.

² cf. Goodell, p. 183, and Schmidt, p. 269, on "Die Wacht am Rhein."

³ cf. Goodell, p. 56, "In all these matters the utmost precision in recording and describing rhythms is none too great."

⁴ Hephaest. 16. 3.

popular form. A conjectural reconstruction of the history of Greek metrical forms would be an interesting philological achievement. But the certainties of elementary rhythmic principles should be kept distinct from such fabrics of hypothesis.¹

(3) Similarly, it is desirable to avoid complicating the theory of metric with the philological and historical problem of the interpretation and credibility of Hephaestion. To me he seems a mechanical scholastic creature juggling with longs and shorts in an excessively elaborated technical terminology. He may or may not have used Heliodorus and other good Alexandrian sources. Who will be surety for the ears or the intelligence of the "good" Alexandrians? I see no more reason for taking the metric of the ancients seriously than for accepting their etymologies or their syntax. I am quite willing, however, to admit Professor Goodell's² plea for Hephaestion that he worked out purely metrical schemes with the tacit understanding that they were to be interpreted rhythmically. Even so he must be used with caution. For he is apt to name a verse from the first foot that catches his eye at the beginning.³ And he is himself conscious that he is sometimes merely exercising his ingenuity in forcing longs and shorts into possible schemes.⁴

But neither the authority of Hephaestion nor any of the arguments yet considered supplies the definite issue which we seek. The fourth argument that the new schemes fit the texts would be valid only if the old schemes did not. But as we shall later see⁵ that from a purely metrical point of view either system will work plausibly enough, we need some other criterion.

Professor von Wilamowitz avers that we shall never understand metric so long as we deal with dissyllabic feet. The true unit is the group of four syllables, or rather an ideal indeterminate four-syllabler, back of which we discern in the

¹ While correcting the proof I received Schroeder's *Vorarbeiten*.

² pp. 29, 37, 40-41, 53, 54, 224.

³ cf. *infra*, p. 85. Schroeder, p. 63, admits that H. could not scan.

⁴ xv, 5 δύναται δὲ κἀν; 6 δύναται δὲ τις βιάζομενος. ⁵ *infra*, p. 71.

gray dawn of history a still more ideal and indeterminate eight-syllabler.¹

Here is something tangible. Are the groups of four, five, six, or eight syllables so largely employed by the new metrists less artificial, truer representations of the actual facts of rhythmic speech than the old dissyllabic and trisyllabic feet? That the feet are in a sense artificial and unreal proves nothing unless it can be shown that the larger groups are less so. The analogy of logic may serve us again. Logic does not show how men actually think or historically thought. It is a mere schematic norm of thinking. Accordingly precisians overestimate its value, and impressionists in the endeavor to make it conform to reality destroy its paedagogical usefulness by contamination with psychology. So the five or six conventional feet that suffice for practical metrical analysis may be as unreal and yet as inevitable as syllogisms, and every impressionistic attempt to follow the phenomena more flexibly may only issue in confusion. Robert Louis Stevenson, for example, says of Milton's line:

"All night the dreadless angel unpursued"

— "it is an iamb, an amphibrachys, a trochee and an amphimacer, and yet our schoolboy, with no other liberty than that of inflicting pain triumphantly, scans it as five iambs."

There is hovering before Stevenson's mind a system of scansion in which the feet shall exactly correspond to the natural phrase groups and word endings. Such a system is theoretically conceivable. It has been seriously advocated in modern German metric.²

It is a convenient alternative to the normal scansion in the reading of modern anapaests, *e.g.*

"In the gray | beginning | of years, | in the twilight | of things | that began,"

or

"Es ritten | drei Reiter | zum Thore | hinaus."

But it breaks down from excessive complication even in modern languages, where cola must end with a word, and

¹ See *Choriambic Dimeter*, Berlin Akad. 1902, 2, p. 886.

² By Bohm. See Minor, *New-Hoch-Deutsche Metrik*, p. 161.

a syllable within a word cannot be held. It is obviously impracticable in a language which permits such forms as (Ar. *Aves*, 1760):

λαβούσα συγχόρευσον· αἰ-
ρων δὲ κουφιῶ σ' ἐγώ

or (Eurip. *Bacchae*, 418):

φιλεῖ δ' ὀλβοδότειραν Εἰ-
ρήναν, κουροτρόφον θεάν.¹

We need not dwell longer on this mere illustration; for the new metrists make no systematic and consistent use of natural phrase and word endings in defining the groups which they substitute for feet or interpose between feet and cola. They may support their scansion of particular passages by them. But as a whole the schemes of Schroeder's *Aeschyli et Sophoclis Cantica* seem to me to override both word endings and the natural divisions of the sense far more than do those of Jebb's *Sophocles*, for example.² From the point of view, then, of the natural speech breaks, either scansion is an artificial scheme imposed upon the facts. But dissyllabic and trisyllabic feet, however arbitrary and conventional in relation to the living phrase, represent the real unity of a single rhythmical stress.³ What do the groupings of the new metric represent? If they are anything more than mathematico-metrical ingenuities, they must be distinct, if subordinate, rhythmical cola, and the only way of proving that the poet intended them to be so felt would be to show that they do correspond to the natural divisions of the phrasing. But before we press the challenge to produce evidence of this, some further distinctions and explanations are required.

If accepted literally, the new schemes might seem to involve absolute "antispastrs"; that is, the direct clash of rhythmical

¹ Christ, pp. 49, 94, tries to evade this by distinguishing pause and hold. Schmidt, p. 296, strangely says: "Jene Pausen mitten in den Wörtern aber, zu denen Westphal gelangt, sind nicht einmal in modernen Weisen zulänglich."

² cf. Schroeder's schemes on Aesch. *Prom.* 197 ff., 526-535, 551, 888; *Ag.* 104, 406, 441!, 487, 689-690; *Eumen.* 535; Soph. *Ajax*, 172, 695, 885; *Antig.* 332 ff., 838; *O. T.* 463, 863, 871, 894-895!; *O. C.* 117.

³ cf. *infra*, p. 83.

stresses without mitigating hold or pause. This is, of course, impossible.¹ But we may assume that schemes which a captious controversialist might pronounce unrhythmical and antispastic are not so intended.² The new metrists largely discard the notation of rhythmical stresses, trisemes, holds, pauses, and irrationals, and they doubtless wish to reduce these devices to a minimum. But we may assume that they tacitly supply them wherever their schemes would otherwise be hopelessly unrhythmical. On this assumption Professor Goodell's defence of Hephaestion applies to them. They present what they deem the best formulation of the metrical facts, with the tacit understanding that it is to be interpreted rhythmically. If this is so, we may ask two questions: (1) What is the practical difference for *viva voce* reading of this substitution of a scansion mainly by choriamb, Bacchic, ionic, and iambic and trochaic dipodies? (2) The question that runs through this paper—what evidence is there for it except its mathematico-metrical possibility?

The differences in practice will not seem great except to a sensitive ear. The quantities remain the same, and the rhythmical stresses will rarely, if ever, be shifted. We need only compare the schemes of Professor White's "Enoplic Metre in Greek Comedy"³ with the scansion by Rosbach⁴ of the same strophes as dactylo-epitrites. The difference, then, must consist mainly in the relations of the rhythmical pauses or holds (it being assumed that the new metrists allow them) to the natural pauses of word and phrase ending. Both types of pause, though some kinds of reading may attempt to minimize or ignore one or the other, are inexpugnable psychological and physiological concomitants of rhythmical utterance. Even when overridden by the *plasma* of the rhythm, the consciousness of word endings and phrase groups persists—less in Greek than in English perhaps, but still persists. And, on the other hand, all *real* metrical subdivisions involve a perceptible, if slight, sense of break and pause.

¹ *infra*, p. 80 sqq.

² e.g. Schroeder, *Ajax*, 1185; *O.T.* 486.

³ *Classical Philol.* II, 439-443.

⁴ III, ii, 480-490.

This is true even of the foot whose entity is preserved by the stress. It is *a fortiori* true of colon, syzygy, or dipody, if they are real for the voice. If the groups of the new metrists are real, they must be demarcated, however slightly, by felt pauses and holds, and it is the position of these pauses that must in practice distinguish their readings from those to which we have been accustomed during the past twenty years. To this we shall recur.¹

Another possible practical difference is indicated by the tendency in Schroeder's schemes to multiply ascending rhythms. This results at once from his substitution of choriambic, ionic, and iambic dimeters for logaoedics, trochees, and dactyls, and from his frequent resort to the Bacchius. How clearly conscious of this the new metrists may be I cannot say. I cannot even make out from Professor White's discussion of the subject whether he proposes to read the "enoplic lyrics in tragedy" in ascending movement, or in what precisely he conceives the difference to consist for the ear.

Minor, the only writer who so far as I know has said an intelligible word on the subject, is (in a different connection) pronounced a "Bildungs-Philister" by Schroeder.²

Minor, after pointing out the obvious fact that it is always possible to express either type of rhythm in the notation of the other,³ and that for modern music there is only the descending *takt*, adds that for metric the practical distinction is this: in descending rhythm the interval is longer between the unstressed and the stressed syllable, in ascending between stressed and the unstressed.⁴

In the lack of a musical setting, the only test of this would be the natural word and phrase pauses — the predominance of iambic and anapaestic or of trochaic and dactylic words or short phrases.⁵ The test is not easily applied even in

¹ *infra*, p. 76 sqq.

² *Griechische Zweizeiler, Vorarbeiten*, p. 80.

³ Christ, p. 51.

⁴ *Neu-Hoch-Deutsche Metrik*, p. 163. There is a hint of this in the statement of Aristides, *de Musica*, p. 37, that in anapaests τὴν φωνὴν διαθεῖν μὲν τὰς βραχέας, ἀναπαύεσθαι δὲ καταπύσαν ἐπὶ τὴν μακράν.

⁵ *e.g.* French poetry is mainly iambic and anapaestic because of the final stress

modern languages. Mayor in his *Modern English Metre* (p. 39) decides doubtfully that Shelley's "Lines written among the Euganean Hills" are trochaic, and also prefers to treat as trochaic Swinburne's

"Dawn is dim on the dark soft water,
Soft and passionate, dark and sweet,"

which to my ear is anapaestic (with the substitutions allowed in English anapaests). Christ (p. 509) admires the alternation of weighty trochees and light, tripping dactyls in Goethe's *Erkönig*, the movement of which is certainly ascending in free iambs and anapaests. *Die Lorelei* is used by Schmidt to illustrate logaoedics, but is prevaillingly ascending.

English metrists frequently classify as dactylic poems as unmistakably anapaestic as Byron's

"The Assyrian came down like the wolf on the fold,"

or Swinburne's *Hesperia*.

In Greek, where, as we have seen,¹ word ending was probably more easily overridden by rhythm and we lack the guide of instinctive feeling for the living phrase, we have not even stated the problem, still less solved it.² And until further evidence is collected we must rely in doubtful cases on the ear, and our sense of the general movement of the verse. For example, I find it most natural to read typical dochmiacs³ as virtually catalectic logaoedic tripodies. But it is obvious that the dochmiac may also be read as a (virtual) Bacchic dipody, or syncopated iambic tripody. In any case, though the new scansion apparently tends to multiply ascending rhythms, this subordinate question is independent of the main issue discussed in the paper. The choriambic, for example,

in French words and the proclitic character of French phrases. Swinburne's perfect anapaests cost him much periphrasis of prepositional and proclitic phrases — "The word of-the-earth in-the-ears of-the-world was-it-God was-it-man."

¹ *supra*, p. 66.

² But cf. now Schroeder, p. 39 *et passim*. I have not tested H. Schmidt's statement (*Metrik*, p. 224) that in *descending* rhythm the short syllables of resolution tend to preserve the word accent.

³ e.g. Ar. *Aves*, 1188-95, 1262-68.

may be regarded as descending if read $\underline{\underline{}} \cup \cup \underline{\underline{}} \cup \cup \underline{\underline{}}$ and ascending if read $\underline{\underline{}} \cup \cup \underline{\underline{}} \underline{\underline{}} \cup \cup \underline{\underline{}}$, independently of the question whether it is really possible to recite groups of the metrical form $\underline{\underline{}} \cup \cup \underline{\underline{}}$ without rhythmizing them to something like $\underline{\underline{}} \cup \cup \underline{\underline{}}$ or $\underline{\underline{}} \cup \cup \underline{\underline{}}$.¹

We may return then to the previous and main question, the evidence for the rhythmical reality of the quadrisyllabic groups and their equivalents.

The new metrists insist that their schemes prove themselves. If the metrical accounts balance, the reckoning must be right. But it is not a question of metrical possibilities, but of rhythmical realities. Each school satirizes the devices to which the other resorts in order to equalize for the eye the units of its metrical analysis. As a matter of fact both employ much the same devices disguised by a different notation and there is no verse form which cannot be forced into either system. Not to speak of the equating of $\underline{\underline{}} \cup \underline{\underline{}}$ and $\underline{\underline{}} \cup \cup \underline{\underline{}}$; of $\cup \cup \underline{\underline{}}$ and $\cup \underline{\underline{}}$; of $\underline{\underline{}} \cup \underline{\underline{}}$ and $\underline{\underline{}} \cup \cup \underline{\underline{}}$; of isolated final or initial \cup ; of $\underline{\underline{}} \underline{\underline{}} \cup$ and $\cup \underline{\underline{}}$; of $\underline{\underline{}} \cup \cup \underline{\underline{}}$ and $\cup \cup \underline{\underline{}}$ (*Ajax* 176), Professor White's schemes represent *εἴη* by $\cup \underline{\underline{}}$, *ἔξει* and *οἶστον* by $\cup \underline{\underline{}}$, *αὖ* by $\underline{\underline{}}$, and *καὶ θανοῦσα λάμπει* once (p. 442) by $\cup \underline{\underline{}} \cup \underline{\underline{}}$ and once (p. 423) by $\cup \underline{\underline{}} \cup \underline{\underline{}}$. And Professor Schroeder represents *γένναν οὐδὲ λή* by $\underline{\underline{}} \cup \underline{\underline{}} \cup \underline{\underline{}}$; *σμένον οὔ* by $\cup \cup \underline{\underline{}}$; *πατροκτόνον Οἰδιπόδαν* by $\cup \underline{\underline{}} \cup \underline{\underline{}} \cup \underline{\underline{}}$; *πόλεα δ' ἔσχ' ἐν ἀγκάλαις* by $\wedge \cup \cup \cup \underline{\underline{}} \cup \underline{\underline{}}$; *οὐδὲ τὸν ὀρθοδαή* by $\underline{\underline{}} \cup \cup \underline{\underline{}} \cup \cup \underline{\underline{}}$.²

It is idle to waste words on this point. Eight-syllabled "glyconics" of twelve apparent times³ can obviously be divided into two groups of four syllables and six times as easily as into groups of five and three syllables, or into two groups of two syllables, one of three, and one of one and a pause. And I cannot understand the interest which Professor von Wilamowitz and Professor White feel in writing out

¹ *infra*, p. 84.

² cf. also *Eumen.* 881, *Ajax* 172, 881, 911, and the tables of tetrasemes and other devices in Schroeder's *Pindar*, pp. 500-503.

³ *ποῦς σύνθετος δωδεκάσημος*, cf. *Aristeides, de Musica*, p. 36.

again substantially in the schemes of Gaisford's Hephaestion page after page of glyconics or choriambic dimeters in order to prove what nobody denies. The thing to be proved is not the mathematical possibility of one of these divisions, but its rhythmical necessity.

The most definite argument that I can find is the reference in the appendix to Schroeder's *Pindar*¹ to certain irregularities of responsion that are said to require scansion by longer groups than the old feet. On turning to the *Prolegomena* (p. 13), I find these to be chiefly the occasional responsion of — ∪ ∪ — for — ∪ —, e.g. τὸν δὲ παμπειθῆ γλυκὺν ἡμθέουσιν πόθον ἐν|δαίεν' Ἡρα (*Pyth.* 4, 184).

Now so far as the few² Pindaric passages are concerned many explanations are possible without resorting to a systematic quadrisyllabic scansion for the odes. We may deny that there are no exceptions to the mere convention that requires exact responsion between strophe and antistrophe. The auditory memory cannot test it without comparison and conscious effort, and the aesthetic sense does not require it.³ Both are content with broad rhythmic equivalence. And in the case of seeming irregularities this can be as easily reëstablished by the one scansion as the other. Whether we divide them into two groups or four feet, there is no real difficulty in either singing or marching to glyconics that interchange the forms — — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ —; — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ —; ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ —; ∪ — — — ∪ ∪ —, etc., or to dochmiacs that vary — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — with ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ —, or ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ —, or ∪ — — ∪ —, etc.⁴ The difficulty exists only on paper for those who assume that all 'short syllables are of the same length and that every long equals two shorts.⁵ So in the exceptional Pindaric passages. If we need to restore precise rhythmic equivalence for song or marching, we may do so by pronouncing the dactyl more slowly, by arbitrarily

¹ p. 497, n. 6.

² Half of them are easily emended.

³ Swinburne, who has the most exacting ear of all living men, does not observe it in his antistrophic odes.

⁴ cf. Schol. Aesch. *Sept.* 128 Ἰσα, ἐάν τις αὐτὰ ὀκτασήμεως βαλῇ.

⁵ *supra*, p. 63.

lengthening $\sigma\nu$ ¹ or by holding the first syllable of $\epsilon\nu\delta\alpha\iota\epsilon\nu$, of which more later. Music takes far greater liberties than these with words, and we have no reason to suppose that Greek music could not get over so slight a difficulty as this. For aesthetic non-musical recitation the difficulty does not exist, because exact syllabic responsion is not there a postulate of the rhythmical sense, but an arbitrary convention. The extent to which Greek poetry, as a matter of fact, obeyed that convention is an important problem for philological criticism, but, so far as we can separate them, not for pure metrical theory. But as I am anxious to do justice to an element of truth in the doctrine, I hasten to add that there is something more to be said if such "irregularities" are considered not in relation to the arbitrary convention of exact strophic responsion, but in their own immediate context. If, for example, in the Pindar passage we preserve rhythmic equivalence by reading $\sigma\omega\ \pi\acute{o}\theta\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\nu$ as $\text{—} \cup \cup \text{—}$, the variation tends to constitute a separate group of these four syllables. And I will not evade this point by arguing, as I might, that we still have two distinct feet $\text{—} \cup \cup = \text{—} \cup$ and $\text{—} \cup = \text{—}$. But is not this an admission that the unit is not the foot, but the group? The answer is that the frank recognition of a slight tendency in certain cases is no reason for the systematic exaggeration of it into a Procrustean method.

"Irregularities" in English five-foot iambics can always be explained by holds, pauses, tribrachs, anapaests, and syn-copated, truncated, or monosyllabic feet. But as an alternative explanation it is sometimes better to recognize the principle of compensation in adjoining feet, or the virtual substitution of quadrisyllabic and other groups for two regular feet. Such groups usually take the form (so far as we may define the less precise English quantities) of a choriamb $\text{—} \cup \cup \text{—}$ or a retarded choriamb $\text{—} \cup > \text{—}$.

"Ask me no more | the moon may draw the sea."

"Tears from the depths | of some divine despair."

"Fills the faint eyes | with falling tears which dim."

¹ Schroeder, *ibid.*, has to emend several passages to avoid this.

Such lines are precisely analogous to the rare Greek examples.

Ἰππομέδοντος σχῆμα καὶ μέγας τύπος.¹
 Παρθενοπαῖος Ἀρκάς· ὁ δὲ τοιόσδ' ἀνήρ.²
 Ἀλφεισίβουαν ἦν ὁ γεννήσας πατήρ.³

They can be explained both in Greek and English as $\cup|\cup\cup\angle$ or $\wedge\angle|\cup\cup\angle$. But I have no desire to sophisticate away the fact that the group tends to be felt as a unit. We do not for this reason scan all English iambs by such groups. We are content to note the tendency or substitution when it exists. We should do the same with Greek verse. Such groups may be recognized wherever the phrasing and the natural pauses of the rhythm tend to constitute them. But the attempt to demonstrate their necessity, as against scansion by feet, on *metrical* grounds argues in a circle. It assumes an inflexibility in the simple feet, a precision in the signs $\cup > _ \sqcup \sqcup$, etc., which no sensible rhythmist attributes to them. We believe that they are paedagogically more helpful than groups of $_$ and \cup .⁴ But we are aware that both are only rough approximations to the subtlety of the phenomena, and that a little ingenuity suffices to establish equally plausible metrical equations with either. But though metricaly they are conventions, or rather approximations, the single feet are rhythmically real by virtue of the rhythmical stress. What is the reality of the quadrisyllabic groups? It must, as we have seen, be sought mainly in the pauses. For to say that it may be constituted by the predominance of a primary over a secondary stress is to assume the point at issue. A foot stress is necessary for any rhythm. But a systematic alternation of primary and secondary stresses, however plausible in some cases, is not necessary except to help define larger groups, which must first be established on independent grounds.

¹ Aesch. *Sept.* 488.

² *ibid.* 547.

³ Soph. fr. 785; cf. also Aesch. *Choeph.* 1049. For German examples see Minor, p. 240. There is no cause to reject the Greek cases with Schmidt, p. 166; nor to measure Ἰππομέδοντος, Christ, p. 25; nor to infer that the 2d iamb, therefore, bears the primary stress, Christ, p. 370.

⁴ Goodell, p. 56.

If then, to take the simplest and most widely discussed case, polyschematic glyconics are really dimeters, since all other evidence of the fact fails, we expect it to be proved by the natural divisions of the phrasing. But it cannot be so proved. In about 36 eight-syllabled glyconics of Anacreon only about 10 show a word ending after the fourth syllable, and only 10 have a word ending before a final cretic. And of these 10 some should not be counted, because the sense pause contradicts the word pause and negates the idea of a medial bisection; *e.g.*:

Χαίρουσ'· οὐ γὰρ ἀνημέρους.

In other words, lines of the type

ᾠ παῖ παρθένιον βλέπων

are more frequent than the type

δίζημαί σε, | σὺ δ' οὐ (κοεῖς.)

Again, in the 61st poem of Catullus of about 200 eight-syllabled glyconics, only about 14 show word ending after the fourth syllable. That is to say, the type 'collocate puelulam' or 'noscitur ab omnibus' is rare and the type 'conjugis cupidam novi' or 'qui rapis teneram ad virum' prevails.

Without attempting useless precision of statistics, I have examined practically all extant "glyconic" or choriambic dimeter lines, and am confident that the systematic bisection of such lines into groups of four or of five and three syllables receives no support from either word ending or the natural pauses of the sense. This is what we should expect. For why should a line of that length be mechanically bisected, and not rather be both composed and recited freely as a whole? The groupings of the new metric are often merely a restatement of the dipodic scansion on which Christ already lays so much stress.¹

But the entire question of dipodic scansion, as well as that

¹ pp. 65, 69, 96, 108, 155-6, 232, 236, 282, 459, 467, 513, 517, 531, 554; cf. also 72, 472, 473, 481, 522.

of caesura and diaeresis, needs restudy in the light of common sense and flexible literary feeling. We must recognize a natural tendency to organize shorter units into larger groups, and still more to divide a long series into two manageable halves. But we must beware of systematic exaggeration of its importance as compared with the more definite elements of rhythmic feet and natural phrase group on the one hand, and the total rhythm of verse or colon on the other. Any facts in a given poem which indicate conscious conformity to the tendency on the part of the poet must be observed. In long lines like the trochaic tetrameter of Tennyson's *Locksley Hall* or the anapaestic tetrameter of Aristophanes, or the six-foot anapaests of Swinburne medial bisection, if not dipodic scansion, may become almost an essential part of the metre. Greek iambics and trochaics constitute metrical dipodies by the syllaba anceps. Even these are practically disregarded in a good recitation.¹ But in general our metrical theory, and still more our teaching, lays too much stress on both dipody and caesura, thereby diverting the student's mind from the natural phrasing and the total unity of the rhythm. We should probably get better practical results if we never mentioned either dipody or caesura or eurhythm to young students. However this may be, there is no presumption in favor of imposing dipodies or medial bisection or any other grouping of the "feet" on short lines that are naturally read freely as wholes. Christ would bisect glyconics before the final cretic.² The new metric bisects them with antispastic effect³ after the fourth syllable. Single lines may be found that favor either view. But the systematic application of either is no more reasonable than it would be in the case of Longfellow's *Psalm of Life*. There too, one school might divide:

Tell me not | in mournful numbers,
 Life is but | an empty dream!—
 For the soul | is dead that slumbers,
 And things are | not what they seem.

¹ Christ, p. 69.² p. 518.³ cf. *infra*, p. 85.

Life is re|al ! Life is earnest !
 And the grave | is not its goal ;
 Dust thou art, | to dust returnest,
 Was not spo|ken of the soul.

And the other :

Tell me not in | mournful numbers,
 Life is but an | empty dream ! —
 For the soul is | dead that slumbers,
 And things are not | what they seem.

Life is real ! | Life is earnest !
 And the grave is | not its goal ;
 Dust thou art, to | dust returnest,
 Was not spoken | of the soul.

This is not parody, but fair criticism. See *e.g.* Aesch. *Prom.* 535, where Professor Schroeder divides μήποτ' ἐκτακείη — ∪ — ∪ — —, and Professor White — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — —. Cf. also their differing divisions of *Prom.* 890–91, of μάτερ αἰσχύνας ἐμᾶς (*Ajax*, 174 : S. — ∪ — — — ∪ —, W. — ∪ — — — ∪ —), and of *O.T.* 1096 ; and Schroeder's bisection of *Ag.* 681 sqq.

In practice I presume that the new metrists read glyconics much as I do. But the application of the method to the larger rhythms of Pindar and the dramatists, what Schroeder calls '*dactylicorum vel Enopliorum membrorum ratio dimetrica*,' must, I think, lead to appreciable differences in practice. Professor Wilamowitz describes the strophe of the fourth Nemean as five choriambic dimeters, a glyconic, a Reizianum, a choriambic dimeter, a Telesilleion, a choriambic dimeter, a Reizianum, a glyconic, an ionic trimeter.¹

These metrical groupings and many others are doubtless mathematically present. But if they are all distinctly demarcated in recitation, the grand rhythmic unity of that glorious strophe is for my ear utterly destroyed. If they are not distinctly, however slightly, marked off by the voice and exist only on paper—*cadit quaestio*. For Pragmatism is sound philosophy in metric if nowhere else. I find the same difficulty in the assumption on which Dr. Herkenrath's Enoplios

¹ *Choriambic Dimeter*, p. 895.

is based — the assumption that identities of rhythm can be discovered by merely isolating similar metrical groups.¹ Examples of this procedure are the description of Bacchyl. 5, 9 as a form of the Enoplios (p. 2), of the second half of the Eupolidean as glyconic B, of *Agamemnon* 681 sqq. as a glyconic system closely resembling Eurip. *Heracles* 638 sqq., of the Alcaic as iambic + Telesilleion, and his division of Pindar, *Pyth.* 3, 2 into cretic, Enoplios and glyconic B.

In particular the new metrists introduce the specific choriambic lilt wherever it is possible to isolate — ∪ ∪ —, and dispose of the remaining longs and shorts in iambic and ionic dipodies, Bacchics, anti-Bacchics, cretics, etc.

Professor White would say that this is a caricature of the method.² But the schemes, if not as a matter of fact so constructed by their authors, may be so constructed by any student who possesses patience, paper, and a copy of Rossbach or of Gaisford's *Hephaestion*. The argument that they work out right is inconclusive. With the licenses assumed they not only may but must work out right.³

Now I have no general system to force upon the facts. While I believe that dissyllabic and trisyllabic feet are on the whole the most convenient units of both metrical and rhythmical analysis, I am willing to recognize the specific choriambic movement or any other grouping whenever the phrasing or the total rhythm and *êthos* indicate it; e.g. Professor White's division of Eupolis, *Κόλακες* fr. 17: *ὃς χαρίτων | μὲν ὄζει* fits the first three lines, but not the fourth. In *O.T.* 1091-2, again, Schroeder's division has a certain rhetorical plausibility:

μῆ οὐ σέ γε καὶ πατριώταν
Οἰδίπου
καὶ τροφὸν καὶ μητέρ' αὖζειν.

But why should we read the last lines of the Epode of Pind. *Pyth.* 2 with Wilamowitz?

λέγειν | ἐν πτεροῖν | τι τρόχῳ
παντᾷ κυ|λινδόμενον |

¹ See against this, Schmidt, p. 292.

² *Logaedic Metre in Greek Comedy*, p. 34.

³ cf. *supra*, pp. 70-71.

τὸν εὐεργέταν ἀγαναῖς | ἀμοιβαῖς
ἐ|ποιομένους | τίνεσθαι.

What reason is there to suppose that the poet intended us to treat ταν ἀγαναῖς and ποιομένους as distinct choriambics and leave τίνεσθαι to come trailing after as a Bacchius? The word-ending? But there is none in the corresponding place in the 2d and 3d Epode, and the sense pauses as a whole are against the choriambics. We are thrown back on the êthos and movement of the entire ode. That could be brought out only by a *viva voce* reading or by pages of description. I can only say that the insistent choriambic lilt seems to me singularly out of place in that stately and magnificent composition.

The case is typical of hundreds of others where the divisions of the new metrists, if they are intended to be felt in recitation, introduce into the great choric structures of Pindar, Aeschylus, and Sophocles sudden sing-song choriambics or abrupt Bacchics, for which I can find no justification either in the phrasing or in the total êthos and movement of the rhythm. See, for example, Schroeder on *O.T.* 464 and Wilamowitz, p. 884, on *O.T.* 464, and Aesch. *Ag.* 194, 403, 740, 748. See also Schroeder on Soph. *Ajax*, 224-5, *Antig.* 332, 604 sqq., 845, 944 sqq., *O.C.* 117, Pindar, *O.* 3, 2-3 and Epode, *O.* 6. *et passim*, *O.* 7. 1, 4, 5, etc., *O.* 8. 1 *et passim*, *O.* 9. 1 *et passim*, *O.* 12. 1 *et passim*, *O.* 13. 17, *Pyth.* 1. 25 *et passim*, *Pyth.* 3. 19-21 *et passim*, etc.

The rhythm of a choriambic series is unmistakable whether we call its parts literal choriambics or catalectic dactylic dipodies.¹ But the introduction of this rhythm wherever it is possible to isolate a single metrical choriamb requires some other support than the possibility of giving the name to a long, two shorts, and a long.

Similar arguments apply to the ionics and other quadrisyllabic groups of the new metric, and *mutatis mutandis* to the prevailing fashion of analyzing and comparing poems in terms of such large and rhythmically indeterminate metrical units as Reizianum, Telesilleion, Praxilleion, Enoplios, etc.²

¹ cf. *infra*, p. 84.

² *supra*, p. 59.

I call it for convenience the "new metric," but many of its schemes are substantially those of Gaisford's *Hephaestion*, and many of its groupings are identical with those of dipodic scansion or of the eurhythmy which was in fashion a few years ago and has left its mark on the schemes of Jebb's *Sophocles* and Gildersleeve's *Pindar*. And it is probable that the new metrists in respect of their real feeling for verse are divided into two diametrically opposed classes: the first, including probably the majority of Germans, those who feel the groups as exaggerated subordinate eurhythmies; the second, including probably the majority of French and some English scholars, those who, lacking the rhythmic sense or the habit of reading Greek verse aloud, merely play with the groups as metrical counters.

Now wherever such special internal symmetries were intended by the poet, or are really embodied in the phrasing, a good reading will unconsciously bring them out. My objection to "eurhythmy" was its over-systematic superposition of them upon the feet. And my objection to the new metric is its systematic substitution of them for the feet. The harm done is either (1) paedagogical in that it confuses the student's perception of the main rhythm as defined by the feet; or (2) rhythmical in that it either invents or exaggerates minor sing-song rhythms within the main rhythm or for minds of another type destroys the main rhythm altogether.

Instead of developing these points, I shall use the space that remains to discuss in connection with the attempted rehabilitation of the *antispast* some fundamental principles which are assumed in the foregoing argument, but the explicit restatement of which will make its meaning clearer.

It is not necessary to complicate this discussion with an inquiry into the exact degree of confusion and inconsistency to be found in *Hephaestion's* use of such terms as *antipatheia*, *asynartete*, *episyntetic*, *polyschematic*, and *antispast*. It will be enough to consider the chief possible (if not always legitimate) senses in which *antispastic* may be employed. (1) It may be used very loosely for a sudden shift

from ascending to descending rhythm, or *vice versa*. From line to line in lyric measure this is not only unobjectionable but may yield fine effects, *e.g.* :

εἴτ' οὖν θεὸς εἴτε βροτῶν
ἦν ὃ τὰτα πρᾶσσων.¹

In continuous stichic composition, particularly in dramatic or epic metres of all work, it would be, I think, intolerable. Tennyson, in the iambics of *Enoch Arden*, can hardly have intended, as Mayor supposes, a sudden change to trochees in the line :

Take your | own time, | Annie, | take your | own time.

We must rather read in ascending movement something like this :

Take | your own time | Ann(ie) | take | your own time.

(2) It may be used merely to designate the *metrical* group ∪ — — ∪. This needs no comment.

(3) It may be used in the endeavor to show that jerky or syncopated rhythms with variation of ascending and descending movement within the line or colon were more popular with the Greeks than has been generally believed.

(4) It may be used to affirm the rhythmical possibility of the antispast in the literal and extreme sense — the absolute juxtaposition of arses or theses without rhythmical mitigation. We may distinguish for discussion three cases. (a) Antispasts that would result from the literal acceptance of metrical choriambes or ionics, ∠ ∪ ∪ ∠ ∠ ∪ ∪ —, etc. (b) The juxtaposition of theses, as ∠ ∪ | ∪ ∠. (c) The antispast proper, ∪ ∠ ∠ ∪. Taking them in order, we may say : (a) The choriamb is not a choriamb, but something like a catalectic dactylic dipody. This statement requires first explanation and then a qualification which will not affect its substantial truth. The conclusion may be reached in two ways. One is merely to reaffirm the impossibility of the clash of two stresses unmitigated by accompanying or intervening pause or hold. This, the most

¹ Soph. *El.* 199.

fundamental of metrical issues, I have discussed elsewhere¹ and shall study in a later paper. It is sometimes met by the citation of single words or English verses in which successive stresses are affirmed to occur. But the thing denied is not the succession of the stresses, but the succession unmitigated by perceptible pause or hold. This is physiologico-psychologically impossible and is not proved by the instances cited. In the case of single words the fact is that the conflicting stresses are got by combining the pronunciations of different speakers, or else one or both syllables are clogged with consonants and so perceptibly retarded in utterance that they would not fit into verse without rhythmizing. In the case of verses we have either alternative scansion, or right rhythmizing supplies the needed hold, or the verse is bad. Professor Goodell's examples² refer to an allied question often confounded with this—the conflict of word and verse “accent.” Such latent conflict may be admissible or pleasing as an occasional discord. But the discord consists in the very fact that, unless it disappears in rhythmizing, one accent or the other must give way.³ It does not even tend to prove that in actual pronunciation the two stresses can clash without pause. Whatever the metrical analysis of such a line as

“There *is* *sweet* music here that softer falls,”

there is no unmitigated clash of stresses either between *is* and *sweet* or *sweet* and *music*. By his italics Professor Goodell seems to find the conflict between the iambic verse accent on *is* and the word accent of *sweet*. But though mechanical scansion may expect a verse accent on *is*, it probably does not fall there. We have approximately one of the retarded choriambic groups discussed above.⁴ *There is sweet music* — ∪ > ∟; or we may go further and treat the first six syllables as one substituted group. But whatever our notation, no accent need fall on *is*, and the slight secondary accent on *sweet*, due mainly to its quantity, is distinctly overridden

¹ *Classical Journal*, II, 223.

² p. 164.

³ e.g. in Schiller's “Ich kenne diese Aufwallung. Sie war.” Schmidt, p. 154.

⁴ p. 73.

by the predominant stress on the first syllable of *music*, which is, moreover, held long enough to soften the slight clash. The irrational length of *sweet* is somewhat reduced by the swift movement of the phrase toward *music*, and the time required for this irrational and for the hold of the first syllable of *music* is gained by the rapid pronunciation of "there is." Even if another reading and analysis were preferred, it would yield in principle the same results. But space fails to analyze other examples in this way, and we must return to the classical choriamb. We can write on paper — — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ —, but we cannot recite rhythmically 'tu ne quaesierís scíre nefás' without a pause or hold on the final syllable of *quaesierís*. It may be said that in Greek the printed accents represent pitch. This does not affect the question. There was also rhythmical stress or no rhythm. It may be argued that we are misled by Germanic analogies and that there was in Greek poetry no stress at all. This notion is for us precisely on a par with the fourth dimension of space or Mill's suggestion that two and two make five in Sirius. The words cannot be translated into terms of our auditory experience. Some scholars may entertain the supposition only because they wish to make their conclusions independent of this particular controversy.¹ But no scholars who actually read them can suppose that there is no rhythmical stress in the anapaestic tetrameters of Aristophanes. Nor, except as a mere exercise of erudition, can we attribute much significance to the inquiry whether the testimony of the ancients explicitly affirms such a stress. Longinus on Hephaestion² evidently does when he tells us that a latent verse in prose ἡδυνήθη λαθεῖν διὰ τὸ πεζὴν οὖσαν τὴν προφορὰν συναρπάσαι τῷ λόγῳ τὴν ἀκοήν. Aristides Quintilianus plainly does when he says³ that a spondee between an (apparent) dactyl and two anapaests δυσδιάκριτον ποιεῖ τὴν βᾶσιν. For unless βᾶσις involves rhythmical stress, what ambiguity can there be in — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ —?

¹ This is plainly Goodell's chief reason, p. 197.

² Gaisford, I, p. 143.

³ p. 57.

It remains to suggest a possible origin of this error in antiquity. The ancient metrists were inclined to define the metre by what they found at the beginning of the line. Unfortunately for this method the rhythmical sense permits and enjoys irregularities or discords at the beginning of a movement that would be intolerable, or at least much harder, in the midst of the rhythm. Whether we describe such initial irregularities as antispasts, bases, overtures, anacruses, proodica, or alloiometric preludes, whether in our schemes we leave them out of the metre or more or less ingeniously rhythmize them, the aesthetic and psychological phenomenon is the same.

A waltz may begin with a whirl of sound in which the ear and foot lose themselves, only to recover the rhythm with redoubled pleasure in the end. So the glorious anapaestic lyric in Tennyson's *Maud* begins with an irregular rush of five or six syllables.

Côme into the gárden, Máud.

Of course it would be possible to schematize this: Come into (apparent dactyl for anapaest) the gár|den, Maud, or even, Come in|to the gár|den, Maud. But the fine aesthetic effect of the irregularity was probably accepted if not sought by Tennyson.

Similarly in Catullus' *Hymn to Diana*, in the lines

Diánae sumus in fide

* * * *

Diánam pueri integri,

the invocation of the goddess rings out clear and strong in the irregularity of the repeated initial iamb before we settle down to the even flow of

Ó Latonia, maximi

which continues through the poem.¹

¹ cf. Soph. *O. T.* 463, *τίς δ' ἔτι* & followed by ἀρρήτ' ἀρρήτων, where we should not pronounce ἀρρήτ' for the sake of conformity.

Now a conspicuous line of Anacreon runs :

ἐγὼ (γ) οὐκ ἄν 'Αμαλθίης.

We can rhythmize it if we please by saying that $\acute{\epsilon}$ is a negligible anacrusis and $\gamma\acute{\omega}$ is held for a triseme, or by other devices. But the fact is that the poet wished to begin with the emphatic $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\omega}$, and the necessity thus accepted becomes for a sensitive ear an added grace as we pass from the slight initial irregularity into the even flow of the rhythm. We have no right to affirm with one critic that this is impossible because Anacreon "never" begins the glyconic with an iamb, nor with another that this is the original and therefore the normal form of the glyconic. In the extant literature it is not the normal form but a rare exception. But it was a conspicuous line and began with an apparent metrical antispast, $\cup - - \cup$. Accordingly, the ancient theorists who invented that unfortunate foot treated the glyconic as an antispastic dimeter which, as $2 \times 4 = 8$ and $2 \times 6 = 12$, was obviously possible.

The extension of this argument to other measures classed as antispastic by Professor White after Hephaestion and Weil would yield no new issues. And there now remains little to say about (c) the absolute antispast $\cup \angle \angle \cup$ except to reaffirm its impossibility without a hold or pause, and to consider the validity of the musical analogies by which Weil and White hint at a justification of it. I am not sure that Professor White is not jesting. But on the assumption that he is serious, his restatement of Weil's argument rests on a misuse of the word "syncopation." The treatment of language by music is too free to allow of any legitimate inference from a conjectural musical setting to the facts of rhythmic utterance.¹ But as the antispast has taken refuge in this obscure region, thither we must follow it. Syncopation may be conveniently employed in metric for the omission of part of a foot and the compensatory holding of the remainder. In music syncopation is the holding of a note through reversal

¹ I am glad to find myself in agreement with Professor Wilamowitz here. See *Commentariolum Metricum*.

of accent. Now, however this may be done with the instrument, if words are sung to syncopated music, it means either the drawing prolongation of a syllable till it becomes two syllables, or the singing of two syllables to the syncopated note; and so justifies rather than refutes the contention that conflicting stresses are impossible without a hold or a pause. Furthermore, though M. Weil speaks of syncopation as a familiar musical phenomenon, he will not find it easy to cite a pertinent example of good verse set to syncopated music. He himself writes out a musical scheme for the glyconic which after all preserves the dactyl. It is true that he adds that the ancients did not divide it thus, but found in the verse a reunion of antipathetic feet; and beat the measure in a way to make felt the movement in reverse time — a complicated system *which would singularly put out a modern singer*. But neither he nor Professor White offers any evidence that the ancients either did or could sing in that way, *without such rhythmic pauses and holds as would make it possible for us*.

To take his own illustration :

τὸν ἄρ-γῆτα Κο-λω-νὸν ἐνθ'

the statement that γη is half in one time and half in the other can only mean that it is pronounced γῆ-ή, thereby doing away with the clash of accents. But this is just as well effected by a pause or hold on ἄρ. It is by no means certain to me that Weil intends to affirm the absolute antispast unmitigated by rhythmic pause. But it is certain that there is nothing in the appeal to the analogies of modern music that justifies it. And that argument failing, the burden of proof still rests on those who affirm that ∪ ∠ ∠ ∪ unrhythmized was rhythmical to the Greeks.

VII — *A Knight Ther Was*

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No picture in all the wonderful gallery of portraits through which one passes to reach the Canterbury Tales has awakened more interest or fastened itself more firmly in the minds of men than that figure of the "verray, parfit, gentil knight" which stands just at the entrance to the gallery. His picturesque career, his devotion to the knightly ideals of "trouthe and honour, fredom and curteisye," his simplicity and gentleness, his unfailing tenderness of the feelings of others — "he never yet no vileynye ne sayde in al his lif unto no maner wight," — his eager haste to perform the pilgrimage he had vowed, which caused him on that unforgettable April morning to join Geoffrey Chaucer and his chance acquaintances, despite his stained gipoun, — all these things live in our memories as the features of one whom we have seen and known. It is not my purpose to erase or alter a single line in this well-known portrait. I have not asked you to listen to me because I have discovered some scandal in the life of the "gentil knight" — some dark secret which after five hundred years has come to light to make us pity his trustful friends and that guileless poet who chanced to meet and love him on the road to Canterbury. If one knew such a secret, one would hesitate long before admitting the claims of historic truth. But I do not. My task, if not so simple, is at least more agreeable. It seems to me that this portrait — like all the others in this and other ancient galleries — has faded a little, that time has taken away the richness of coloring which was such a wonder and delight to the contemporaries of the artist and left us only line and hints of light and shade. I do not wish to retouch the portrait, to spoil it with crude bright modern colors, but, if possible, to apply to it a "reviver" made of extracts from certain old documents and restore a part, at least, of the color and tone of the original.

When Chaucer painted this portrait, the figure which served him as model and the ideals which it embodied were already doomed. Gunpowder and cannon had come to take away the occupation and the prestige of the knight, and almost exactly at the same time Genoa and Venice had given the first great demonstration that "business is business" and that the ideals of chivalry must give way to the ideals of commerce. The doom was, of course, as yet unrecognized. The triumphs of cannon and of commerce seemed only the miserable petty triumphs of the vulgar, the common, the undignified. But the uncanny magic of fate was over the whole doomed system of chivalry, and, as always happens to a doomed system, the flame of devotion flared wider and higher and burned for a moment with unwonted intensity and purity. Knighthood was no longer a mere feudal obligation, it had become an ever-alluring ideal; men fought not because they must, but because they might; and the conditions of the time gave to the ideal all the inspiration of religious fervor and all the enticements of contact with the unknown, the mysterious, the unsearchable.

The battles in which the knight had been engaged were all battles against the infidels. That they had the sanction of the Church was, no doubt, by no means a minor consideration in the fourteenth century, but the prime element in their fascination for Chaucer's audience was undoubtedly that they were all fought, as we may say, on the very confines of the civilized world. The small group of nations who in the west of Europe represented Christian civilization and who, despite their jealousies and quarrels, knew and understood one another so well, were shut in on the west by an apparently infinite ocean which constantly stimulated the imagination to tales of fairy lands beyond or beneath it where women were beautiful and loving and faithful and mortal men became immortal; and on the south and east and northeast were peoples scarcely less romantic and mysterious than the fairy peoples of the "land of the undying."¹ On the south and

¹ The placing of the Celtic Other-world in the same category with the Orient is not a rhetorical device. Mediaeval imaginative literature shows in almost

east were Moors and Arabs, possessors of a more elaborate and more highly ornamented architecture, of a finer craftsmanship in swords and armor, in tapestries and silks and carpets, in spices and perfumes and all the luxuries of life, of deeper cunning in mathematics and medicine and philosophy and a world of mysterious sciences derived from Aristotle and Pythagoras and Hippocrates and nameless "masters of those who know." Behind the Saracens on the east and already pressing beyond them into Russia on the northeast were the even more mysterious Tartars and Turks, who, coming without warning from the unknown heart of Asia, brought with them all the mysterious associations of India and China. To us the tale which the young squire heard from some knight who had fought in the East, — the tale he left half-told — "the story of Cambuscan bold and of the wondrous steed of brass," of the magic ring and sword and mirror, is a curious and interesting flight of the oriental imagination; to Chaucer's contemporaries — fresh from the veracious narratives of Sir John Mandeville — it was probably a strange but credible transcript of life beyond the Christian pale. Somewhere in the remote east, they believed, ruled that mysterious sovereign Prester John, and near his empire lay the sandy sea, the floating islands, the lands of the dog-faced men, of the "anthropophagi and men whose heads do grow beneath their shoulders."

Associations and ideas such as I have tried to indicate were aroused in the minds of Chaucer's contemporaries by the mere recital of the names of cities and lands where the knight had fought. And in almost every instance the campaigns had not only attracted adventurous spirits from all parts of the Christian world, but had been sufficiently brilliant or long-continued to furnish matter for wonder and admiration for many long years. The two years' siege of Algezir, the sudden capture of Alexandria, were events that could not soon be forgotten even had they occurred in our own day, when the newspapers overwhelm us daily with reports of every volume the mingling of East and West in all ideas that lay beyond the central realm of sober experience.

more events, significant or trifling, than came to the knowledge of Chaucer and his contemporaries in a decade. To the men of that quiet time they furnished recollections and conversation for a whole generation.

The campaigns ascribed to the knight form three groups. The first in order of time is probably the group composed of the siege of Algezir, the raids in Belmarye, and the mortal combats in the lists in Tramissene. All of these, of course, are events in the long struggle to drive the Moors out of Spain and punish their piratical raids from northern Africa upon Christians and Christian commerce. Algezir, the modern Algeciras on the west coast of the bay of Gibraltar, was one of their most important strongholds and for two years stubbornly resisted the siege maintained by Alfonso of Castile with the aid of earls and barons and men-at-arms from the whole Christian world.¹ It is not strange, therefore, that when it finally fell in the spring of 1344, King Edward of England sent to Alfonso a letter of elaborate and jubilant congratulation, a copy of which is still preserved in the Archives of England and published in Rymer's *Foedera*.² That Englishmen took part in the siege and were present at the surrender we know to be a fact and not one of Chaucer's poetic fictions. The collection of ancient documents just

¹ "Erst als ein neuer Krieg mit den Mauren den christlichen Staaten der Halbinsel grosse Gefahren brachte, kam es zu einem Frieden mit Portugal, indem Alfons XI. versprach, Eleonore de Guzman zu entfernen und seine Gemahlin als Königin zu behandeln." (Schlosser, *Weltgeschichte*, VIII, 376.) "Schon hatte der König von Granada im Bunde mit den afrikanischen Mauren eine castilische Flotte vernichtet und die Belagerung von Tarifa begonnen, als unter Vermittelung des Papstes die drei Könige von Aragonien, Castilien, und Portugal mit ihrer in Kämpfen geübten Ritterschaft die Mauren gemeinschaftlich angriffen, und am Flüsschen Salado (unweit Algeziras) im Oct. 1340 einen grossen Sieg über sie gewannen, welcher die Macht derselben dauernd schwächte." (*ib.* 376.) "Es bedurfte indessen noch mehr Kämpfe zu See und Land, ehe Algeziras sich im J. 1344 ergab und ein 10jähriger Waffenstillstand geschlossen wurde. Die Eroberung jener Stadt an der Westseite der Bay von Gibraltar war der Glanzpunkt der Regierung Alfons' XI., doch hatte die zweijährige Belagerung derselben auch den Anlass zu Einführung einer den Mauren nachgeahmten Steuer, der Alcala, gegeben." — Assmann, *Gesch. des Mittelalters*, IV, 239.

² v, 415 (orig. ed.). The letter dated May 30, 1344, is headed: Ad Regem Castellae, super Algezira Conquistata, Gratulatoria.

cited contains a letter of credence¹ dated August 30, 1343, in favor of Henry, Earl of Derby, and William de Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, to Alfonso, King of Castile. The letters of protection for the men who accompanied these earls seem not to have been preserved, but we may presume that the train of each consisted of about thirty men, as similar letters for the trains of Arundel and Derby issued in March, 1344, provide respectively for twenty-nine and thirty-two men.²

Whether the expeditions in the African kingdom of Belmarye occurred before or after the siege of Algezir, we have no means of knowing. Rymer³ prints a letter, dated June 12, 1341, from Edward to Alfonso, congratulating him on his memorable victory over the king of Belmarye (*Ad Regem Castellae, super Victoria contra Mauros sub Rege Benemerem, Memoratissima*). But after a ten years' truce other expeditions occurred in considerable numbers throughout the century, and Chaucer may have had a later one in mind for his hero.⁴

¹ *op. cit.* v, 383. On the same page will be found a "power," dated Sept. 2, for Derby and Salisbury to treat with Alphonso (Record. ed.).

² *op. cit.* (Record. ed.) III, I, 10, and 11.

³ *op. cit.* (orig. ed.) v, 257.

⁴ See Froissart's account of the fears of the kings of Granada, Bellemarine, and Tramesainnes immediately after the coronation of Henry the Bastard as King of Castile in 1369:

"Et amenèrent li seigneur d'Espagne le dit bastart Henry, c'est assavoir: messires Gomes Garile, li grans maistres de Caletrave et li maistres de Saint-Jaquème, à Asturges, et le couronnèrent à roy et li fissent tout féaulté et hommaige, et le tinrent à seigneur, et li jurèrent, présent li chevalier de Franche et d'Engleterre, que jammais il ne li fauroient, ne pour morir ne le relenqueroient. Si se tinrent in Asturges environ XV jours et puis chevauchièrent viers Burs, qui s'ouvri tantost contre le roy Henri et puis s'en allèrent viers Séville; mes il s'adrecièrent parmi le royaume de Portingal, conquérant villes, chités et castiaux, ne nus ne se tenoit contre yaux, car il estoient plus de lx^m hommes, tous armés et bien montés, et avoient bien entencion ces gens, mès que il eussent soubmis le royaume de Castile en le vollenté dou roy Henry, que de passer oultre et aller ou royaumes de Grenade et de Bellemarine, et moult s'en doubtoient li Sarrazin et li royaumes de Tramesainnes." — Froissart, ed. Kervyn, vii, 93.

The declaration by those who came to aid Henry against Pedro the Cruel that they wished to invade Granada and Tramesaine was of course false and a mere pretext to enter Pedro's territory:

"Les capitaines de ces gens d'armes, pour embellir leur fait, mandèrent au roy dan Piètre par leurs lettres et ung hirault que il volsist as pellerins de Dieu qui

The dates of the mortal combats in Tramissene (the modern district of Tlemçen in western Algeria) are also, of course, under the circumstances, unascertainable. The nature of them, however, we may infer with some degree of probability from an interesting passage in Froissart. They were apparently not combats in which he and his opponent were engaged alone. Let us hear Froissart's account of a challenge of a later date, when the army of the Christians (mainly the French) was besieging the City of Africa in 1390:—

"The besiegers and their enemies studied day and night how they could most effectually annoy each other. Agadinquor Oliferne, Madifer de Tunis, Belins Maldages, and Brahadin de Bugia, and some other Saracens, consulted together, and said: 'Here are our enemies the Christians encamped before us, and we cannot defeat them. They are so few in number when compared to us, that they must be well advised by their able captains; for, in all our skirmishes, we have never been able to make one knight prisoner. If we could capture one or two of their leaders, we should acquire fame, and learn from them the state of their army and what are their intentions. Let us now consider how we may accomplish this.' Agadinquor replied, 'Though I am the youngest, I wish to speak first.' 'We agree to it,' said the others. 'By my faith,' continued he, 'I am very desirous of engaging them; and I think, if I were matched in equal combat with one of my size, I should conquer him. If you will, therefore, select ten valiant men, I will challenge the Christians to send the same number to fight with us. We have justice on our side in this war, for they have quarrelled with us without reason; and this right and the courage I feel, induce me to believe that we shall have the victory.' Madifer de Tunis, who was a very valiant man, said: 'Agadinquor, what you have pro-

empris avoient d'aler en Grenade et en Bellemarine, pour destruire et guerrier les incrédules et exaichier le foy de Dieu, aministrer vivres et ouvrir son pals ettant faire que on eust cause de s'en louer." — Kervyn, xvii, 425.

Pedro was accused of being in league with the kings of Granada, Bellemarine, and Tramesainnes; cf. Froissart, *Johnes' transl.*, bk. i. capp. ccxxx, and ccxlv. The references to these Moorish kingdoms in Froissart are numerous, see Kervyn's Index.

posed is much to your honor. To-morrow, if you please, you shall ride as our chief toward the camp of the Christians, taking an interpreter with you, and make a signal that you have something to say. If you be well received by them, propose your combat of ten against ten. We shall then hear what answer they give: and, though I believe the offer will be accepted, we must take good counsel how we proceed against these Christians, whom we consider as more valiant than ourselves.'

"This being determined on, they retired to rest. On the morrow, as usual, they advanced to skirmish; but Agadinquor rode on at some distance in front with his interpreter. The day was bright and clear, and a little after sunrise the Saracens were ready for battle. Sir Guy and sir William de la Tremouille had commanded the guard of the night, and were on the point of retiring, when the Saracens appeared in sight about three bow-shots distant. Agadinquor and his interpreter advanced toward one of the wings, and made signs to give notice that he wanted to parley with some one; by accident, he came near the pennon of a good squire-at-arms called Affrenal, who, noticing his signs, rode forward apace, and told his men to remain as they were, 'for that he would go and see what the Saracen wanted: he has an interpreter with him, and is probably come to make some proposition.' His men remained steady, and he rode toward the Saracen.

"When they were near each other, the interpreter said, 'Christian, are you a gentleman, of name in arms, and ready to answer what shall be asked of you?' 'Yes,' replied Affrenal, 'I am: speak what you please, it shall be answered.' 'Well,' said the interpreter, 'here is a noble man of our country who demands to combat with you bodily; and, if you would like to increase the number to ten, he will bring as many of his friends to meet you. The cause for the challenge is this: They maintain, that their faith is more perfect than yours; for it has continued since the beginning of the world, when it was written down; and that your faith has been introduced by a mortal, whom the Jews hung and crucified.' 'Ho,' interrupted Affrenal, 'be silent on these

matters, for it does not become such as thee to dispute concerning them; but tell the Saracen, who has ordered thee to speak, to swear on his faith that such a combat shall take place, and he shall be gratified within four hours. Let him bring ten gentlemen, and of name in arms, on his side, and I will bring as many to meet him.' The interpreter related to the Saracen the words that had passed, who seemed much rejoiced thereat, and pledged himself for the combat.

"This being done, each returned to his friends; but the news had already been carried to sir Guy and to sir William de la Tremouille, who, meeting Affrenal, demanded how he had settled matters with the Saracen. Affrenal related what you have heard, and that he had accepted the challenge. The two knights were well pleased, and said, 'Affrenal, go and speak to others, for we will be of your number ten.' He replied, 'God assist us! I fancy I shall find plenty ready to fight the Saracens.' Shortly after, Affrenal met the lord de Thim, to whom he told what had passed, and asked if he would make one. The lord de Thim willingly accepted the offer; and of all those to whom Affrenal related it, he might, if he pleased, have had a hundred instead of ten. Sir Boucicaut the younger accepted it with great courage, as did sir Helion de Lignac, sir John Russel, an Englishman, sir John Harpedone, Alain Boudet and Bouchet. When the number of ten was completed, they retired to their lodgings to prepare and arm themselves. When the news of this combat was spread through the army, and the names of the ten were told, the knights and squires said, 'they are lucky fellows, thus to have such a gallant feat of arms fall to their lot.' 'Would to Heaven,' added many, 'that we were of the ten.'" — *Johnes' transl.*, bk. iv, cap. xxii; *Kervyn*, xiv, 241 ff.

Combats such as this were, we may believe, the three which Chaucer credits to his hero, with the addition that he had "aye slain his foo."

The campaigns of the second group are apparently all connected more or less directly with Pierre de Lusignan, King of Cyprus and Jerusalem, and the famous capture of Alexandria. The siege of Alexandria though not long continued,

being indeed an assault rather than a siege, was one of the most spectacular events of the century that witnessed the splendid victories of Crécy and Poitiers. The city itself was currently believed in the west to surpass all the other cities in the world each in its peculiar excellence. Those who had seen it declared it to be larger than London, more beautiful than Paris, and richer than Genoa or Venice. Although the assault upon it was sudden and the capture a matter of only a few days, the event had long been prepared for. In October, 1362, the King of Cyprus began a journey through Europe, lasting nearly two years, in the vain attempt to organize the European sovereigns in a crusade against the Saracens.¹ He was himself a most picturesque and attractive figure. He was in the prime of his strength and beauty and endowed with talents of no mean order. Everywhere he was received with princely hospitality and loaded with more than princely gifts of gold and jewels. Everywhere he made friends by his charming personality, his courtesy, his intellectual brilliance, his courage and success in numberless tourneys. He visited the Pope, the kings of France and England, the Emperor, the courts of Franconia, Misnia, Saxony, Bohemia, Poland, Austria. Few were willing to aid him officially, but all were ready to approve his undertaking and to allow their subjects to enlist with him if they wished. Froissart's account of the attitude of King Edward of England may serve to indicate the caution, expressed or unexpressed, of many:—

“It would take me a day were I to attempt relating to you the grand dinners, suppers, and other feasts and entertainments that were made, and the magnificent presents, gifts and jewels, which were given, especially by queen Philippa, to the accomplished king of Cyprus. In truth, he was deserving of them, for he had come a long way and at a great expense, to visit them, to exhort the king to put on the red cross and assist them in regaining countries now occupied by the enemies of God. But the king of England politely

¹ For the character of Pierre and his spectacular tour through Europe in behalf of his crusade, see the many chapters devoted to the subject by Froissart.

and wisely excused himself, by saying: 'Certainly, my good cousin, I have every inclination to undertake this expedition; but I am growing too old, and shall leave it to my children. I make no doubt, that when it shall have been begun, you will not be alone, but will be followed most willingly by my knights and squires.' 'Sir,' replied the king of Cyprus, 'what you say satisfies me. I verily believe they will come, in order to serve God, and do good to themselves; but you must grant them permission so to do; for the knights of your country are eager in such expeditions.' 'Yes,' answered the king of England, 'I will never oppose such a work, unless some things should happen to me or to my kingdom which I do not at this moment foresee.' The king of Cyprus could never obtain anything more from King Edward in respect to this croisade; but, as long as he remained, he was politely and honorably feasted with a variety of grand suppers."—Johnes' transl., bk. I, cap. ccxviii; Kervyn, VI, 384 f.

Many earls and barons and men-at-arms from all parts of Europe did flock to his standard, and, with the aid of the Pope and the Knights Hospitallers, his fleet sailed from Rhodes in September, 1365, on a crusade directed against some unknown point in the East. Pierre himself had not decided upon the exact point of attack, but during the voyage, at the suggestion of one of his council, he determined to try to capture Alexandria by a sudden attack. On Tuesday, October 9, he anchored before the city, and two days later had complete possession of it. The victory was signaled by many notable feats of arms, chief among them those of the king himself, and was celebrated in a poem of nearly nine thousand lines, by Guillaume de Machaut,¹ Chaucer's contemporary, and, to a certain degree, one of his masters in the art of poetry. Less voluminous, but hardly less enthusiastic, accounts of it are given by many chroniclers.² It made upon

¹ Guillaume de Machaut, *La Prise d'Alexandrie ou Chronique du roi Pierre I^{er} de Lusignan*, ed. L. de Mas Latrie. The notes of this volume and of the *Histoire de Chypre* by the same scholar give numerous references for all matters concerning Pierre.

² See especially the Cypriote chronicles of Amadi, Strambaldi, and Bustron (all published in the *Coll. des Doc. Inéd. sur l'Histoire de France*), and Philippe

the minds of the men of the time an impression not altogether unlike that made in our own day by the Russo-Japanese naval battle of Tshushima.

With this brilliant event are associated, in this second group of campaigns, the successes at Lyeys and at Satalye¹ and probably also the service under the Lord of Palatye "ageyn another hethen in Turkye." Satalye, the ancient Attalia in Asia Minor, was one of the strongest fortresses in the east and a constant menace to Cyprus. The date of its capture from its Saracen lord was, however, not 1352, as is commonly stated, but August, 1361.² As this was prior to the visit to Europe made by Pierre in behalf of his crusade, we must infer that Chaucer's gentil knight had sought the east before the east sought him. It is possible, if not indeed probable, that Chaucer conceived him to have been a member of the company attending the Count of Hereford, who is recorded to have been with Pierre on the expedition against

de Maizières, *Vie de Pierre de Thomas* (*Acta Sanct.* Bolland.), 29 Jan. vol. II. Kervyn (xx, 566) says of Pierre: "Denis Sauvage lui a consacré la note suivante: 'Messire Phelippe de Mésières, chevalier, chancelier de Pierre de Lusignan, roy de Cypre (duquel l'histoire fait cy mention), fit escrire dudit roy de Cypre sur sa tombe qui est au chapitre des Célestins de Paris, ce qui s'ensuit: Pierre de Lusignan, quinziesme roy latin de Hierusalem, après Godefroy de Bouillon, et roy de Cypre, par sa grand prouesse et haute emprise, prit par bataille et à ses frais les cités d'Alexandrie in Egypte, Triple en Surie, Layas en Arménie, Satalie en Turquie et plusieurs autres cités et chasteaux sur les ennemis de la foy Jésus-Christ. *Anima ejus requiescat in pace.*'"

¹ Skeat, quoting Tyrwhitt, rightly identifies Lyeys with Layas (modern Ayas) and Satalye with Attalia (modern Adalia). The former is not to be confounded with Alafa, Allagia (modern Alaia) which was commonly known to Europeans in the Middle Ages as Candelore or Scandoloro. Candelore, which lies in the Gulf of Satalye (Adalia), delivered its keys to Pierre in 1361 immediately after the capture of Satalye, but rebelled during his absence in Europe and, according to Amadi (p. 415) and Bustron (p. 263), was recaptured by an expedition sent by Pierre under the leadership of Messer Piero Mustri, though Strambaldi (p. 71) and Machaut (vv. 3988 ff.) speak of the expedition as unsuccessful. For the capture of Lyeys (Lajazzo on the Gulf of Alexandrette or Iskanderun) see below.

² Skeat (note on Prol. 56-58) quotes Tyrwhitt as authority for the statement that Satalye was taken by Pierre "soon after 1352." But none of the chroniclers record this event. The real date seems to have been August, 1361; cf. Amadi, p. 411, Strambaldi, p. 47, Bustron, p. 259 f., and Machaut, vv. 641-660.

... attack on Alexandria.¹ Apparently
... his liking, for he took part, as
... of Lyeys — a strongly forti-
... coast of Armenia the Lesser —
... Turkish lord in 1367, according
... Strambaldi, though Machaut
... the expedition unsuccessful.² At
... the service under the lord of
... in Turkey" is doubtful. In
... (p. 66), the lord of Palatye was
... treaty and doing homage to
... this remained the case I have

... at Satalye is a part of the testi-
... below, p. 106. That he took part in the
... Machaut, v. 6794, and the letter of Florimont
... Machaut, p. 228 ff. For the presence of other
... see the quotation from Philippe de Mai-
... *Prise d'Alexandrie*, pp. 281-282. Amadi
... "Messer Roberto Tulassan, cavalier
... (or Gorchigos, or Courc), which had
... when he fled to Europe. The same state-
... of the captain, is made by Strambaldi,
... the editor's note in Amadi. According to
... was with Pierre at Alexandria; see below,

... Machaut, vv. 7008-7113, both of which accounts
... but could not take the land fortress. For
... Agiasso) see Machaut, vv. 6964 ff. In
... of the attack on Lyeys, though the other
... mentioned.

... of Armenia, the lord of Palatye was a
... the Turk, as was also the lord of Satalye;
... (Johnes' transl. III, 23):
... noble condition, et si il étoit plus jeune
... de moult faire grands conquêtes là où il se
... un pays ou une ville ou une seigneurie, il
... ceux en leur créance, ni oncques ne
... héritage. Il n'en demande que à avoir
... dis que, si il eût conquis le royaume
... il m'eût tenu en paix, et mon royaume
... la reconnaissance que je lui eusse faite de le
... hauts barons qui marchissent à lui font, qui
... à souverain seigneur pour leur ôter hors de

The third and last group of campaigns we must dispose of more rapidly. All of them belong to the operations of the Knights of the Teutonic Order, whose chief seat was then Marienburg in Prussia. This order, founded at Jerusalem in 1128 by the German Crusaders, removed to Venice and by 1283 had become master of all the territory in north Europe between the Vistula and the Niemen. In 1309 they removed their headquarters to Marienburg, but had Königsberg also as an important centre of operations. Their especial task was to defend the Christian border against the Lithuanians and the Tartars, the latter of whom were masters of most of Russia. The task was difficult and practically incessant.¹ No data are given us by Chaucer for determining the time of the knight's visits. We have records of visits there by some Englishmen in 1362,² but our hero seems then to have been in the Orient. A time of equal stress for the Teutonic Order began in 1385, when, according to Assmann, many foreign knights came to their aid. We may well believe that this later period was the time of the knight's campaigns. In support of this, we may note in the first place, that Chaucer says that in Prussia the knight was often given the highest seat at the table — "began the bord" — in recognition of his distinguished character and services.³ He was, therefore, probably

la doute du soudan et du Cakem de Tartarie." — "Et qui sont cils seigneurs," fut-il demandé au roi d'Arménie? "Je vous dirai," dit-il, "tout premièrement le sire de Saptalie y est, et puis le grand sire de la Palati et tiercement le sire de Hauteloge. Ces trois seigneurs et leurs terres, parmi le treu que il lui rendent tous les ans, demeurent en paix; et n'est Turc ni Tartre qui mal leur fasse."

Palatye (modern Palatia or Balat) lies on the west coast of Smyrna, on the site of the ancient Miletus.

¹ On the Teutonic Order see Helyot, *Dict. des Ordres*, III, 624 ff., *Revue des Deux Mondes* (1879), XXXII, 319-340, 791-817, *Hist. Zs.* x, 430-449, XIII, 229-260.

² See the testimony of John de Rither, below, p. 105. The siege of Wellon there referred to is apparently that of Wilna; cf. Assmann, *Gesch. des. M.A.* IV, 369. On Feb. 5, 1363, a safe-conduct was issued by the English government to David de Berclay of Scotland, going to Prussia, and on Feb. 20 one to Thomas earl of Marr. (Rymer, *Record ed.* III, ii, 687.) Others are recorded at various dates.

³ The character of the Grand-Master of the Teutonic Order and the men he gathered about him may serve to emphasize the distinction accorded to the

not a young knight at the time in question. If he fought first in 1344 at Algezir, he was probably in 1387, the supposed date of the *Canterbury Tales*, between sixty and sixty-five. Obviously he was not so old as to be ready to retire, for, says

knight. From 1351 to 1382 the Grand-Master was Winrich von Kniprode, who, according to Assmann, p. 367, was chosen unanimously, "ein Mann, dem — selbst seit Hermann v. Salza — kein anderer Ordensmeister an Tüchtigkeit gleichgekommen ist. . . .

"Er selbst war von grosser stattlicher Gestalt, besass alle Eigenschaften eines Helden und Regenten, hatte aber auch einen Kreis von ausgezeichneten Männern in seiner Umgebung.

"Bei Antritt seiner Regierung wiesen ihn schwere Heimsuchungen des Landes auf eine um so ernstere Sorge für dasselbe hin. Im J. 1351 wüthete ein furchtbarer Orkan über Danzig, so dass 60 Schiffe in dessen Hafen scheiterten; die noch zwei Jahre wüthende Pest zerrüttete das Familien- und Bürgerleben, wie Gewerthätigkeit und Handel. Zur Sühne des erzürnten Himmels erhoben sich in Preussen nicht, wie anderswo, Schaaren von Flagellanten, sondern Kriegsheere zur Erneuerung des Bekehrungskampfes gegen die heidnischen Litthauer. Aber der Angriff d. J. 1352 schlug in Folge eintretenden Thauwetters und starker Regengüsse völlig fehl, und zur Erwiderung desselben wurde Samland von den Fürsten Olgerd und Kynstutte grässlich verheert. Seitdem war es des Hochmeisters erstes Bemühen, einerseits den entvölkerten Landstrichen durch mancherlei Begünstigungen aufzuhelfen, andererseits durch neue Ordnungen der Ausbildung der Ritter wie der zu grösserer Bedeutung gelangten Städtebürger ein höheres Ziel zu stecken. Vor Allem erkannte er als nothwendig, die Bürger zum Waffendienst heranzuziehen, sowohl zu ihrer eigenen Vertheidigung, als um einen festen Kern für die Kriegsmacht des Landes zu gewinnen. Hiezu führte er in allen Städten die Sitte des Vogel- und Scheibenschiessens mit Ehrenpreisen ein. Die Ritter aber hielt er nicht nur durch strenge Zucht zu einem sittlichen Lebenswandel an, sondern sorgte auch dafür, dass dieselben sich in Friedenszeiten die für die höheren Aemter nöthige Bildung aneigneten. So sollte forthin jedes Ordenshaus in Preussen mit zwei gelehrten Ordensbrüdern versehen sein, deren einer in der Theologie, der andere in der Rechtskunde bewandert wäre. Die Pflanzschule für diese höhere Bildung sollte das Haupthaus zu Marienburg sein, wohin deshalb die berühmtesten Gelehrten aus Deutschland und Italien zu Begründung einer Art von Rechtsschule berufen wurden. Bald erstaunte das Ausland über den Erfolg solcher Bestrebungen, und das preussische 'Consistorium von rechtserfahrenen Männern' wurde von fremden Fürsten und Städten, besonders auch aus Deutschland, in verwickelten Streitfällen zu Rathe gezogen. Im Lande selbst aber wurde die Gerechtigkeit, überall auf feste Grundsätze gestützt, in einem Masse wie fast nirgend sonst gehandhabt" (pp. 367-368).

"Der Wiederausbruch der Pest, wie das Vertrauen auf einige ihm eben von Paderborn übersandte Reliquien des h. Liborius ermunterten den Ordensmeister — der in seiner religiösen Bildung keineswegs über seiner Zeit stand — im J. 1360 zu einem Kriegszuge gegen Litthauen, bei welchem der kühne Ordensmarschall Henning Schindekopf die Anführung erhielt; doch rief diesen der Versuch des

Chaucer, "he was late ycome from his viage" — the technical term for a military expedition. And this suggests the second reason for dating his career in Pruce, Lettow, and Ruce, or at least one of his campaigns there,¹ immediately before his pilgrimage to Canterbury, namely that, inasmuch as he joined the pilgrims in London, he had not landed at Dover or any port in Kent, but perhaps at some northern port lying nearer to Prussia.² This is of course not conclusive, for, had he been returning from the Orient, he would perhaps have landed at Dartmouth or some other west of England port, as ships from the Orient usually did. But the question of date is not of serious import to our discussion.

Königs Kasimir, an seiner Landesgränze eine Burg (Raigrod) zu erbauen, zum Kampfe gegen den polnischen Nachbar, welcher bald in die Schranken gewiesen wurde. Nach mehren minder bedeutenden Zügen gegen Lithauen gelang es zwar im J. 1361, den Grossfürsten Kynstute durch Ueberfall in Gefangenschaft zu bringen, doch entfloh dieser alsbald und setzte zur Rache den Krieg mit desto grösserer Festigkeit fort; und als im J. 1362 die Burg Kauen, eine Feste der Lithauer am Zusammenfluss der Wilia und Memel, genommen war, wodurch die Hauptstadt Wilna ihren stärksten Schutz verlor, nahm der Kampf von beiden Seiten einen immer hartnäckigeren Charakter an (p. 369).

"Jahre lang musste freilich unter diesen Verhältnissen der Hochmeister seine Sorge für das Innere des Landes hintansetzen; aber bei den Zeitgenossen stieg sein Ruhm wegen des beharrlichen Kampfes gegen die Heiden immer höher; Pabst und Kaiser erkannten das 'glorreiche' Verdienst des Ordens an, dass er den letzten Rest des Heidenthums in jenem östlichen Winkel Europa's völlig zu vertilgen strebe" (p. 370).

"Nie waren um einen Meister des Ordens so viele Thränen vergossen, als bei Winrich's Tode. Unter den Geschichtsschreibern seiner Zeit ist nur eine Stimme seines Ruhmes; wenn aber diese vor Allem seinen oft mit Grausamkeit geführten Bekehrungskämpfen gegen die Lithauer gilt, so hat ihn die Neuzeit um so mehr als friedlichen Leiter des Ordens und als Landesvater gewürdigt. Denn niemals hatte der Orden in der Meinung der Welt so hoch gestanden, als zu seiner Zeit, und dieses war eben so wohl seiner trefflichen Wahl der Ordensgebietiger wie seiner strengen Ueberwachung der Ordensregel zu danken. Daher das Zeugniß der fremden Kriegsgäste: 'dass sie in keinem Lande so viel wohlgestalteter Leute an Alter und Weisheit gesehen hätten, als im Orden zu Preussen'" (p. 377).

The most important campaigns of the Order in Lettowe and Ruce were those of 1357, 1360-62, 1369, 1375, 1381, 1385 (Assmann, pp. 369-381).

¹ The words of Chaucer — "*ful ofte tyme* he hadde the bord bigonne" — suggest that the knight had taken part in more than one of the campaigns.

² In consequence of the negotiations of 1385 free entry to all the ports of England was granted to the towns of Prussia; cf. Assmann, IV, 379.

We have thus far seen that Chaucer's knight was probably between sixty and sixty-five, that he began his military career in the early forties while Chaucer was still an infant, and consequently would have been a man of mature years and doubtless of much reputation when Chaucer himself as a young squire was in France with the army in 1359, and further, that, although the battles and expeditions ascribed to him are among the most brilliant and adventurous of the age, they fall naturally into three great groups of campaigns. One is tempted to inquire further whether in conceiving his knight Chaucer merely endowed him with the most notable campaigns of the age or whether he may have had in mind one or more men who more or less closely approximated the experiences and exploits of the knight. Chance has provided us with an interesting set of documents which suggest that, though Chaucer may not have given us in the knight a portrait of one of his own friends, he at least knew men of the exact type he has drawn with such affectionate skill.

In 1386, by the order of the crown, testimony was taken to decide a dispute between the Yorkshire family of Scrope and the Chester family of Grosvenor as to which had the right to the arms Azure, a bend Or, which both bore and claimed. Chaucer himself was one of the witnesses in favor of Scrope, and his testimony on this occasion is our principal datum for the time of his birth. Some persons testified concerning tombs and stained windows and other monuments of ancient date that bore the arms in question as those of one or the other claimant. Most of the witnesses, however, were knights and esquires, who testified to the occasions when they had seen the said arms borne publicly in battle or elsewhere. The testimonies by no means give complete sketches of the military careers of the witnesses, but since some of the Scropes themselves nearly duplicated the career of the knight, we get in them hints as to the possibilities of an approximate model among these men whom Chaucer knew. Let us take first the testimony of Nicholas Sabraham, Esq.¹

¹ This and the other testimonies in the Scrope-Grosvenor case are given in the edition of the roll published by Sir Harris Nicolas. The first volume contains

“Nicholas Sabraham, Esquire, aged sixty and upwards, armed thirty-nine years, said that the arms Azure, a bend Or, were the arms of Sir Richard Scrope, for he had seen the arms of Scrope on banner and coat-armour in the expedition of Sir Edward Balliol in Scotland, also on a banner in the company of the Earl of Northampton, when he chivauchied by torchlight out of Loghmaban as far as Peebles, and had in his company Sir Henry Scrope with his banner. The Deponent also said, that in the assemblage from all Christian countries at the instance of the King of Cyprus, when he meditated his expedition to Alexandria in ships and galleys, one Sir Stephen Scrope was present, armed in the arms of Scrope, Azure, a bend Or, with a label Argent for difference, and immediately on landing, received in those arms the order of Knighthood from the King of Cyprus. He further said that he was armed in Prussia, in Hungary, at Constantinople, ‘à la bras’ of Saint George, and at Messembré, at which latter place there is a church, and therein lieth one of the Scropes buried, and beneath him there are depicted on the wall the arms of Scrope, Azure, a bend Or, with a label, and on the label three ‘bezants Gules:’ he knew them to be the arms of Scrope, and to have borne that name, because the wardens of the said church told him so. The Deponent saw Sir Henry Scrope armed in France with a banner in the company of the Earl of Northampton, and Sir William Scrope, elder brother of the said Sir Richard, in the same company, armed in the entire arms, or with differences, at the battle of Cressy, at the siege of Calais, in Normandy, in Brittany, in Gascony, and in Spain, and beyond the great sea in many places and at many chivalrous exploits: in those places he never heard speak of Sir Robert Grosvenor or of any of his ancestors” (p. 323).

“John de Rither, Esquire, aged sixty-six, armed since the time when the late King made his chivauche to Burenfos in Picardy, deposed that the arms Azure, a bend Or, belonged to the family of Scrope by inheritance. . . . Afterwards the

the documents, the second contains translations of them and Nicolas’s introduction and notes. I quote the translations, giving the page references to vol. II.

noble King made his expedition before Paris: Sir Henry was there with his banner, and the present Sir Richard Scrope was there also, armed in the entire arms, in the company of the Earl of Richmond; Sir Geoffrey Scrope being then armed in the same with a difference, in company of the late Lord of Lancaster. After that expedition peace was made, when Sir Geoffrey Scrope went, with other knights, into Prussia, and there, in an affair at the siege of Wellon in Lithuania, he died in these arms, and was buried in the Cathedral of Königsberg, where the said arms are painted in a glass window, which the Deponent himself caused to be set up, taking the blazon from the arms which the deceased had upon him" (p. 358).

"Sir Richard Waldegrave, aged forty-eight, armed twenty-five years, deposed that the arms Azure, a bend Or, belonged to the Scropes, who were reputed to be of ancient lineage, as he had heard, in the lifetime of the Earl of Northampton. He saw Sir Richard so armed in the expedition of the late King before Paris, and at the same time Sir Henry Scrope with his banner, on which were the said arms with a white label. And also beyond the great sea he saw Sir William Scrope so armed, with a label, in the company of the Earl of Hereford at Satalia in Turkey, at a treaty which was concluded between the King of Cyprus and 'le Takka,' Lord of Satalia, when the King of Cyprus became Lord of Satalia" (p. 377).

"Sir Henry de Ferrers, aged forty-six, armed thirty years, deposed that he never heard of any one who had so good right to the arms Azure, a bend Or, as Sir Richard Scrope, and the other branches of his family. He said that he saw Sir Geoffrey Scrope, the son of Sir Henry, so armed in Brittany; also the said Sir Geoffrey so armed in Prussia, and afterwards in Lithuania, before a castle called Piskre, and that he there died, and from thence his body was brought back into Prussia and interred, in the same arms, in the cathedral of Königsberg, where they were placed on a tablet, as a memorial, before the altar. The Deponent saw Sir Henry Scrope before Paris, with his banner, and his body so armed with a white label, and Sir Richard Scrope with the

arms entire. The said Sir Geoffrey Scrope was then armed in the company of the late Lord of Lancaster before Paris, and before the time that he went into Prussia" (p. 445).

The significance of these documents is so clear as hardly to need comment. Not only in details, but in its entirety, the career which Chaucer ascribes to his "gentil knight" is that which actually fell to the lot of more than one of his contemporaries and acquaintances. Sir Harris Nicolas (*The Scrope-Grosvenor Roll*, II, pp. 105 f.) goes so far as to suggest that Sir William Scrope was definitely in Chaucer's mind as he drew this famous portrait. This is perhaps an exaggeration, but we have unmistakable evidence that Chaucer was painting no picture of fancy, but giving us a figure at once realistic and typical of the noble and adventurous idealists of his day.

If you will indulge me a few seconds more, I should like to repeat a suggestion I made several years ago in regard to the sources of *The Squire's Tale*. After showing that the only literary sources suggested were out of the question — and my argument has been accepted universally — I suggested that Chaucer may have heard the story from some knight or esquire who had fought in the Orient, and promised to write some day of the possibility that he actually knew persons who might well have brought the story from the East. I hope I have in this paper redeemed my promise. I have shown you that among Chaucer's fellow-witnesses — men doubtless well known to him — are several whose opportunities for hearing and transmitting such a story were all that could be desired. It may be interesting, and perhaps not altogether without significance, to recall the well-known fact that the English translation of the romance of William of Palerne was made at the command of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, — not the one above recorded as taking part in the capture of Satalye and Alisaundre, to be sure, but his uncle and immediate predecessor as Earl of Hereford.

VIII — *The Distribution of Oriental Cults in the Gauls and the Germanies*

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THE present paper is offered as a preliminary chapter of a work on the geographical distribution of oriental cults throughout the western Roman world, which I hope to complete within the near future. Since the material here treated was presented to the American Philological Association at Washington in January, 1907, there has come to my knowledge Cumont's *Les Religions Orientales dans le Paganisme Romain*, Paris, 1906, in which the learned author discusses the nature of the oriental cults, the causes for their acceptance in the West, and their influence there, with a mastery of the whole subject such as no other possesses. I trust, however, that there is still a place for the modest work which I have planned. Only when all the data have been gathered shall we know in what areas the several cults were strong, what their proportionate popularity was, and what were the possibilities of rivalry or of influence between them; in short, a geographia sacra of the Roman world should add considerably to our knowledge, as has been made evident by Cumont's own work on Mithras. A number of studies have already been completed on which such a treatment as is here suggested may be based in part: notably Cumont's *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithras*, I, 1899, II, 1896; also Lafaye, *Histoire du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie*, 1884; Drexler, *Der Cultus d. aegypt. Götter in den Donauländern*, 1890; Showerman, *The Great Mother of the Gods*, 1901; Kan, *De Iovis Dolicheni cultu*, 1901; Hepding, *Attis*, 1903; etc.; not to mention the articles in Roscher's *Lexikon*, Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-encyclopädie*, or the older works. The present writer contributed a short paper on *Oriental Cults in Britain* in *H.S.C.P.* XI, 47-60.

In this article the terms, 'The Gauls' and 'The Germanies,'

are used in the same sense in which they are employed in the Corpus;¹ the adjective 'oriental' is made to include Egyptian and Carthaginian divinities as well as the gods of Asia and Syria. Obviously in treating the distribution and relation of the oriental divinities within a restricted area, such as the one here chosen, caution must be employed in drawing conclusions as to the general popularity of these divinities in the ancient world, the characters of their devotees, the interrelation of the cults,—in short, on all the questions raised by such a study. While my effort, therefore, has been to avoid too general conclusions, I wish here to emphasize the fact that my deductions, such as they are, are made only for the districts under discussion, and must be regarded as tentative at best, subject to modification when all the evidence shall have been gathered and considered.

Our data are naturally of three sorts: literary, epigraphic, and monumental in the widest sense. The writers give us little help; the greater part of our information is provided by inscriptions; with regard to the evidence from monuments, it has seemed best in general to disregard all data that do not indicate an actual dedication or a probable centre of worship. The discovery of a statuette of an oriental divinity may be evidence of the devotion of an unknown individual, but it is not necessarily proof that the god was regularly worshipped in the place of discovery. On the other hand, a large number of such statuettes, or the widespread use of the head of a divinity on coins, may be important evidence.² But whether we consider all possible data or limit ourselves to that which seems to indicate actual worship in a given locality, it remains true that we have only a small fraction of the evidence which once existed, and much of the evidence which we do possess cannot be exactly dated. Chance and man have dealt harshly with such memorials of the past as interest us here, and we never can estimate with any degree of accuracy the extent of

¹ For convenience *Gallia Narbonensis* is employed to cover all the districts included in *CIL*. XII.

² cf. the evidence from coins at Dyrrhachium, Nicopolis in Lower Moesia, and elsewhere, presented by Drexler, *Der Cultus d. aegypt. Götter*, pp. 50-52, 59 ff. *et passim*.

our loss. Yet this fact does not invalidate such studies as the present one, if we are content to regard our results as only approximate, qualitatively rather than quantitatively correct. There is no reason to suppose that fate has on the whole been more destructive of one portion of our evidence than of another.

Four questions concern us in our present study: the geographical distribution of the oriental cults; secondly, the position of the worshippers; thirdly, the source or sources from which the cults entered the territory under consideration and the means by which they spread within it; and finally the possible rivalry between the different pagan cults, and also between Paganism and Christianity.

But before we proceed to consider the several cults in detail, it will be well to remind ourselves of the general character of the areas here considered, which are roughly only two: the valley of the Rhone and the valley of the Rhine. These two valleys, from their geographical positions, differed widely in their development and in their relation to the empire. The district known as Narbonese Gaul was Roman from the time of the Gracchi. Caesar's conquest of the rest of Gaul to the Rhine was on the whole so complete that the greater part of the country did not require military forces scattered through it to retain its allegiance. Neither the military operations of Agrippa in 38 B.C. and of Messalla in 28-27 B.C., nor the uprising of the Morini shortly before the battle of Actium, seriously disturbed the general peace. The district belonging to Marseilles had been made part of the province by the events of the Civil War. The disturbances of 21 A.D. and those which followed on Nero's death¹ testified to the persistence of the Gauls' hatred for the Romans, but they were quickly put down so that they were not repeated. From the reign of Augustus a wise administration and the legions on the Rhine sufficed under all ordinary conditions, and even in most crises, to secure quiet and peace.² Southern

¹ The revolt of Vindex was not a Gallic uprising in any sense, but a revolt against the Emperor.

² A single cohort of 1200 men at Lyons (Joseph. *B. J.* ii, 16, 4; cf. Tac.

Gaul, having been longest subdued, was naturally earliest Romanized. The process may be said to have been completed under Caesar and the early empire. Everywhere the Roman speech, dress, and manners seem to have been common,¹ especially in the ancient province which had been longest under Roman influence. Not only the old colony of Narbo, but also Nemausus, Arelate, Arausio, and Vienna, not to speak of many similar places, were distinctly Romanized. The same is true of Lugdunum, the capital of the Tres Galliae, which in the time of Caligula saw contests held between both Greek and Roman orators, and which was in the younger Pliny's day the centre of a book trade. In Aquitania also the quiet forces of Roman civilization made their way along the Garumna and its tributaries. Trade flourished, and Roman manners were adopted in many towns. In such districts as these we should expect dedications to the gods set up by civilians, traders, slaves, and retired soldiers,—an expectation which is amply fulfilled, as will be shown below.

Upper and Lower Germany,² on the other hand, formed the frontier of the empire, and throughout the period which we are considering, required a constant garrison to protect the Gallic lands from the threatening peoples beyond and to check rebellious spirits in the rear. From 17 A.D. each was under a *legatus Augusti propraetore*, the headquarters of Upper Germany being at Mogontiacum, of Lower Germany at the Oppidum Ubiorum (Colonia Agrippinensis). In the reign of Tiberius eight legions were stationed along the Rhine, four under each *legatus*.³ After the close of the

Ann. iii, 41) was the only regular force in the first century besides the legions on the Rhine. Cf. Hirschfeld, *CIL*. XIII, I, 1, p. 250; Desjardins, *Géographie de la Gaule Romaine*, III, 403.

¹ Of course without driving out the native customs or the use of the Celtic tongue by the great mass of the people, as is shown by abundant evidence, both in literature and inscriptions. Vid. Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, N. Y. 1899, I, 108 ff.

² Although these were reckoned as parts of the Gallic provinces, with the editors of the *Corpus* I follow the not uncommon practice of antiquity in counting them as separate districts.

³ Tac. *Ann.* i, 31. 37.

operations of 69–70, Vespasian left seven legions here; under Trajan one was added, but between 120 and 170 A.D. we find the total number fallen to four:¹ VIII Augusta and XXII Primigenia in Upper Germany; in Lower Germany the I Minervia and XXX Ulpia. These legions are also found stationed here in the third century. In such an area as the Rhine valley, which was continuously occupied by military forces, we should naturally find chiefly those gods worshipped who commended themselves to the legionaries, the auxiliary troops, camp followers, and traders, as will appear more clearly from the evidence set forth below.

The divinities which we are to consider are the following: Ba'al (Belus), Dea Caelestis, Bellona, Iupiter Olbius, Iupiter Ammon, Iupiter Sabasius, I.O.M. Heliopolitanus, I.O.M. Dolichenus, Isis and her associates, Magna Mater and Mithras. Of this list the first seven are comparatively unimportant here, although the sporadic instances of their worship are not without interest in themselves.

Belus. — The following dedication is on an altar erected by an unknown Sextus at Vasio, *CIL.* XII, 1277:

Εὐθυντῆρι τύχης | Βηλῶ | Σέξτος θέτο βῶ|μον
τῶν ἐν Ἀπαμείᾳ | μνησάμενος | λογίων.

Belus, | Fortunae rector | mentisque magis|ter,
ara gaudebit, | quam dedit | et voluit.

That this Belus is identical with the Ba'al of Apamea in Syria, whom Septimius Severus once questioned (*Dio C.* lxxviii, 8, 5–6), seems beyond doubt, but it is wholly uncertain whether the dedication has any reference to the victory of Severus over Albinus near Lyons in 197 A.D., as has been suggested.² Hirschfeld³ doubts it, but it is not impossible. The other conjecture of Renier that the altar was erected by Sextus Varius Marcellus, father of Elagabalus, is also generally rejected; but it must be remembered that Sextus Varius was

¹ According to *CIL.* vi, 3492 a. b.

² cf. Renier, *Mel. d'épig.*, 129 ff.; Desjardins, *Géographie de la Gaule Romaine*, II, 510 f.

³ *CIL.* XII, l.c.

born at Apamea in Syria (Dio C. lxxviii, 30, 2), so that Renier may be right. The only point that seems certain, however, is that we have a quondam resident of Syria, later living at Vasio, who erected this altar in pious gratitude for the fulfilment of an oracle he had once received at Apamea.

Dea Caelestis. — The Carthaginian Tanith, Dea Caelestis, according to Servius (*Aen.* xii, 841), was 'evoked' by the Romans in the Second Punic War, but her worship was not established until the time of the Third Punic War. Wissowa, however (*Religion u. Kultus d. Römer*, 313), regards this notion, probably with reason, as a late invention; but in any case the Romans were acquainted with her before the beginning of our era. Like other divinities of our class, she enjoyed her greatest popularity in the latter part of the second and in the third centuries.¹ It was the African emperor Septimius Severus who introduced her into the Roman pantheon.² Soldiers, however, carried her cult into the northern provinces: to Dacia (*CIL.* iii, 993), Pannonia (iii, 10407, 10955), and Britain (vii, 759). The single dedication to this goddess within our areas was found at Mogontiacum; Zangemeister's restoration can hardly be doubted, *CIL.* xiii, 6671: [Iuliae Augustae] Caelesti Deae | [matri imperato]ris Caesaris | [M. Aureli Anton]ini Pii Felicis | [Augusti Parth]ici Maximi | [Brittannici Maxi]mi Germanici | [Maximi itemqu]e senatus patri | [ae et castror]um in honorem | [legionis XXII An]toniniana Pr(imigeniae) | [p(iae) f(idelis)] | . . . us Quirina An | ana . . .

While the name of the dedicant is lost, we may reasonably conjecture that he was connected with the twenty-second legion which had its headquarters here. This identification of the Empress Julia Domna with the Carthaginian goddess is paralleled by the inscription of Hadrian's wall (*CIL.* vii, 759), in the rude verses of which she is identified with the Dea Syria by the tribune Marcus Caecilius Donatus,³ as well as by

¹ *CIL.* vi, 77-80; 545; 2242. *Notiz. degli Scavi*, 1892, 407.

² Domaszewski, *Religion des röm. Heeres*, 74.

³ The identification was first pointed out by Hodgkin, *Arch. Aeliana*, xxi (1899), 289. On the interesting syncretism in this inscription, see *H.S.C.P.* xi, 58-60.

the identification at Mogontiacum of her son Caracalla with Invictus Sol by his *legatus propraetore* in 213 A.D. (XIII, 6754). As 6671 may be as early as 213 A.D., it is not improbable that in the two inscriptions we have evidence of some special effort on the part of an imperial legate, and probably of an officer of the twenty-second legion, to honor the emperor and the empress mother in this year in which Caracalla first single-handed held the power.¹ No doubt the fact that she regularly accompanied the emperor on his campaigns led to her favor with the soldiers. She was also identified with Cybele on coins struck after 209 A.D.

Bellona. — It is impossible to say how the cult of Bellona was carried to the provinces, and indeed in the case of individual dedications, we cannot determine whether they were intended for the Cappadocian or the Roman goddess. I have therefore named all the scattered dedications within our areas. Alesia has yielded *CIL.* XIII, 2872: Marti et Bellonae | Sestius Negrinus ex | ius[s]u reposuit; Augusta Treverorum XIII, 3637: Deae | Bellonae | aram | Iusia ex | imperio | p. l. m. Two simple dedications have been found near Moirans on the Morge, XIII, 5351, 5352, but neither gives us any information. Equally unimportant are XIII, 5408, a dedication on a bronze patera found at Epamanduodurum, XIII, 5670, from Civitas Lingonum in which Bellona is associated with Mars, and XIII, 6666, from Mogontiacum. The well-known dedication, XIII, 7281, from Castellum Mattiacorum is, however, significant: in h. d. d. deae Virtuti Bello|ne montem Vaticanum | vetustate conlabsum | restituerun[t] hastiferi ci|vitatís Mattiacor(um), X kal(endas) | Sep(tembres), imp(eratore) d. n. Maximino Au[g](usto) | et Africano co(n)s(ulibus); hi quorum no|mina i(nfra) s(crip)ta sunt. Eighteen names of the dedicators follow. The date is Aug. 23, 236 A.D. That Virtus Bellona is here associated with the Great Mother

¹ On the popularity of Julia Domna in various parts of the empire, see Miss Williams, *A.J.A.* VI (1902), 262 ff. The empress is first denominated *mater castrorum* in inscriptions of the year 196 from Ostia (*CIL.* XIV, 120), and Narbo (XII, 4345). This title showed that her divinity was now worshipped along with the emperor's in the sanctuary of the standards. Cf. Domaszewski, *Religion des röm. Heeres*, 72 f.

is evident from the mention of the Vaticanum.¹ It is noteworthy that the curator of the college bears a Gallic name, G. Meddignatus Severus.

Iupiter Olbicus. — Another unique dedication within the districts we are considering is at Heddernheim, *CIL.* XIII, 7346: Iovi Olbio | Seleucus | Hermogra|tus qui et Dio|genes d. d. The name of the dedicator (Hermogratus = Ἑρμοκράτους) suggests his origin, and there is no doubt that Brambach (*CIRh.* 1454) was right in identifying the god with the tutelary divinity of Olba in Cilicia (cf. Strabo, xiv, 672; Eckhel, III, 62).² The popularity at Heddernheim of Iupiter Dolichenus, who also had his home in the former kingdom of the Seleucidae, is noteworthy (vid. *infra*, p. 120).

Iupiter Ammon. — At the obscure town of Epamanduodurum (Mandeure) two inscriptions have been found referring to the worship of Iupiter Ammon, but they are of little significance. The reading of the first, *CIL.* XIII, 5410, I O V . . . A M M . . . , is uncertain, since the stone has been lost. The second is also fragmentary, *CIL.* XIII, 5415, . . . s]acerdo[s] | . . . [Iovis A]mmoni[s] | . . . s quaeator | . . . siuiduplic | . . .

Iupiter Sabasius. — More interesting are the two inscriptions in honor of I. O. M. Sabasius. One is from Mogontiacum, *CIL.* XIII, 6708, set up apparently by a *primipilus* of the twenty-second legion in the praetorium, I. O. M. | Sabasio | conservatori | honori aquilae leg(ionis) XXII Pr(imigeniae) p(iae) f(idelis) | [Alexandr]ianæ | M. Aur(elius) Germanus | d(omo) Emon[a]e.³ The other is from the country of the Arverni, where, in the modern village of Vichy, there were

¹ vid. *infra*, p. 130.

² For a dedication at Capua to Iupiter Olbicus Sabaeus, vid. *Eph. Epig.* VIII, p. 216, no. 877. On Zeus Ὀλβιος as tutelary of other places, vid. Höfer in Roscher's *Lexikon*, s.v. Olbios.

³ The place of the dedicator's origin, the colony Emona in Pannonia, shows how a centurion, transferred from one province to another, might be an important agent in the diffusion of foreign cults. Cf. *infra*, p. 122. If the name of the legion, Alexandriana, is correctly restored, the date is fixed as that of the reign of Severus Alexander. On Honor as a divinity worshipped by the soldiers, cf. Domaszewski, *Religion des röm. Heeres*, 41 f.

found in 1864 some eighty thin leaves of silver, of which sixty-seven are to-day in the museum of St.-Germain, seven are in private possession; the others seem to have been lost. Eleven of the leaves in the museum of St.-Germain are decorated each with a representation of Iupiter Sabasius, half nude, standing in a shrine, resting on a spear or sceptre, while in his right hand he wields the thunderbolt. On one of the leaves in the museum, as well as on one in private possession, we have the following inscription, which clearly indicates the purpose of the leaves, *CIL.* XIII, 1496: Numin(i) Aug(usto) deo Iovi Sa|basio G. Iul(ius) Caras|sounus v. s. l. m.

I. O. M. Heliopolitanus.—The cult of the Ba'al of Heliopolis in Syria seems to have spread to the West chiefly from Berytus; Syrian traders brought it to Italy, or at least were most prominent in carrying on the worship there, notably at Puteoli, where the *corpus Heliopolitanorum* (*CIL.* x, 1579) may have been identical, or at least affiliated, with the *cultores Iovis Heliopolitani Berytenses, qui Puteolis consistunt* (*CIL.* x, 1634, dated 116 A.D.). In the armed provinces auxiliary troops, as well as traders, spread the cult. The single inscription¹ in Gaul is the familiar dedication at Nîmes, *CIL.* XII, 3072: I. O. M. Heliopolitan(o) | et Nemauso | C. Iulius Tib(eri) fil(ius) Fab(ia) | Tiberinus, p(rimi)p(ilaris), domo | Beryto, votum solvit, which, from the paleographical evidence, seems to date from the end of the second century; the cippus bears on its left side a relief showing the god holding in his right hand a lash, in his left ears of grain, while on his head is represented a calathus adorned with flowers and pearls; beneath his feet is an animal whose identification is uncertain.² The dedicator, C. Iulius Tiberinus, was a discharged veteran, born at Berytus (domo Beryto), who, after service, took up his abode at Nîmes, where, as we

¹ *CIL.* XII, 3139, also from Nîmes, may be a second case, for de Rulman, in the seventeenth century, reported O M H at the beginning, but the correctness of this is extremely doubtful.

² cf. Lenormant, *Gaz. archéol.* II (1876), 78 f., tab. 21, who first saw that this relief corresponds to the description by Macrobius, *Sat.* i, 23, 12. For other possible representations of the god, vid. Studniczka, *Arch.-epig. Mitth. aus Oesterr.* VIII (1884), 59 ff.; Gurlitt, *ibid.* XIV (1891), 120 ff.

know, there was a considerable settlement of Egyptians, or of Egyptian Greeks.¹ In spite of the fact that Nîmes was larger than even Narbo in Strabo's time (Strab. iv, p. 186)—its monuments still extant attest its wealth and importance—it is surprising that the only other eastern divinity whose cult is attested here is that of Isis (vid. *infra*, p. 123).

From Upper Germany, however, we have three inscriptions: Grand (in Lorraine), *CIL.* XIII, 5936: (*in parte antica*) ex iusso (*sic*) | De(ae) Dia(nae) | s(ignum) Iovis Hel(iopolitani) de lustra|tu . . . [posuit]; (*in latere dextro*) D(eae) N(emesi?) | M(arcus) C . . . F | . . . v. s.

Brötzingen. *CIL.* XIII, 6331: I. O. M. | He(liopolitano) S . . . G . . . | v. l. l. m. (*sic*).

Zellhausen. *CIL.* XIII, 6658: [I. O.] M. Helio[p]oli[t]a|no, Vener[i] [f]elici, Mercurio [A]ug(usto), [M.] | Iulius Marci | fil(ius) Fa[bi]a Ruf[us] Papi[n]ianus | Sentiu[s] Gemell[us] domo Ber[y]t[o] | praefectus . . . From this point the inscription cannot be clearly read, except the last line; Zange-meister suggests as a possibility: coh(ortis) . . . Aquit(anorum) castris E . . . id. E[mili]an[o] ii et Aquil[ini]no [cos.] | v. s. s. l. m. (249 A.D.).

The form of the first two of these dedications is such as to give no hint as to the position or birthplace of the dedicators, but in the third he is a prefect of the cohort of the same nationality as the dedicant at Nîmes. The triad of I. O. M. Heliopolitanus, Venus, and Mercurius Augustus, who are clearly the Semitic Adad, Dea Syria, and Nabu,² is found again in an inscription from Athens, *CIL.* III, 7280: [I(ovi) O(ptimo)] M(aximo) et Veneri et Mercurio | Heliopoli[t]anis Q. Te[dius] Maxi[mus] v. l. a. (*sic*).

The evidence thus far considered shows at most only isolated instances of Oriental cults, and is therefore of little significance for the general character and culture of the provinces. Yet the influence of the soldiers may be seen in the identification of Iulia Domna with the Dea Caelestis at Mo-

¹ cf. Hirschfeld, *Wiener Studien*, v, 319 ff.

² cf. Mommsen's note, *CIL.* III, 7280; Perdrizet, *Revue des Études anciennes*, III (1901), 258.

gontiacum (XIII, 6671), in the dedication to I. O. M. Sabasius, conservator, at the same place (XIII, 6708), and in the dedication to I. O. M. Heliopolitanus at Nîmes (XII, 3072) and at Zellhausen (XIII, 6658).

The remaining cults, I. O. M. Dolichenus, Isis and her associates, Magna Mater, and Mithras, were widespread and of great importance.

I. O. M. Dolichenus. — The warlike Ba'al of Doliche¹ was made known to the West under the name of I. O. M. Dolichenus chiefly by soldiers,² although traders were also active.³ As early as the reign of Hadrian the god received a templum at Lambaesis from Sextus Iulius Maior, legatus legionis III Augustae pro praetore;⁴ and by the time of Antoninus Pius his worship was known in Britain (*CIL.* VII, 506). In the Gauls a single certain dedication was found in the harbor at Marseilles about 1648, — an inscribed base supports a mutilated statue of the god standing on a bull. The divinity is beardless, dressed in pileus and cuirass; beneath the bull is an eagle with outspread wings.⁵ On the base is the dedication, *CIL.* XII, 403: Deo Dolichenio | Oct(avius) Paternus ex iussu eius pro salute | sua et suorum. Since the statue was found in the sea, Seidl conjectures, possibly correctly, that its presence here was due to a shipwreck, and is no proof that the god was worshipped at Marseilles. The second inscription, also at Marseilles, cannot be read with certainty, *CIL.*

¹ vid. A. H. Kan, *De Iovis Dolicheni cultu*, Groningen, 1901, which supersedes Hettner, *De Iove Dolicheno*, Bonn, 1877. To Kan's material may now be added *CIL.* XIII, 7342 a, 7342 b, 7345 a, 7411, 7566 a; *Westd. Korrespondenzbl.* xxv (1906), 2, 5. 6. Cf. also the publication of the Limeskommission, Lief. 23, 11, 1, from Kastell Alteburg-Heftrich.

² vid. Kan, *l.c.*, pp. 11 ff. The unarmed provinces give little evidence of this cult, while those occupied by troops, *e.g.* Illyria, the Germanies and such a military centre as Lambaesis in Africa, furnish many dedications.

³ cf. *CIL.* III, 7761: I. O. M. D. | Aurelii | Alexan|der et Fla|us Suri | negotia|tores ex | voto l. b.

⁴ *CIL.* VIII, 18221; cf. Henzen, *Ann. dell' Istituto*, 1857, 6 ff. The date is 130–133 A.D.

⁵ For reproductions of this monument, vid. Spon, *Miscellanea eruditae Antiquitatis*, Lyon, 1679–83, p. 79; Seidl, *Ueber den Dolichenus-cult*, *Sitzungsb. d. Wiener Akad., phil.-hist. Classe*, XII (1854), Taf. II; less satisfactorily, Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire grecque et romaine*, II, 1, p. 21, 2.

xii, 404: ḅVI. O. M. D. Prop. | Philipa Hotarzaradi filia. By some H is read in place of D, but the reading here given is that of Hirschfeld. The inscription is interesting from the oriental name of the father, however doubtful the god may be. In any case, it is clear that the god of Doliche, like I. O. M. Heliopolitanus, had at most only the slightest hold in the Gauls.¹

In the Germanies, however, where the legions were stationed, we find his cult established at numerous places:

Germania Superior.

Pforzheim, <i>CIL.</i> XIII, 6334.	Heddernheim, XIII, 7341 a. ² 7342.
Köngen, XIII, 6383.	7342 a. b. 7343-7345. 7345 a.
Obernberg, XIII, 6623.	Grosskrotzenburg, XIII, 7411.
Stockstadt, XIII, 6646.	Saalburg, XIII, 7453/5-7457.
Mogontiacum, XIII, 6707. <i>Korrespondenzblatt d. Westd. Zeitschrift</i> , xxv (1906), 2, 5. 6.	Wiesbaden, XIII, 7566 a.

Germania Inferior.

Rigomagus, XIII, 7786.	Vetera, XIII, 8620.
Colonia Agrippinensis, ³ XIII, 8201.	

¹ *CIL.* XIII, 3563, from near Théroutanne, can hardly refer to I. O. M. Dolichenus in any way. Cf. Seidl, *l.c.*, 79 f.

² The place where this silver plaque was found is unknown. Zangemeister conjectures that it may have come from Heddernheim solely from its similarity to the plaques bearing the inscriptions 7342 a, b. 7345 a. Here should also be mentioned a plate of bronze from Heddernheim (Kan, 145 b; Hettner, 35) in triangular shape — evidently one side of a pyramidal-shaped sacred object, — at the top of which is shown in relief a bust of the Sun, then a flying Victory carrying a palm branch and a crown which she is about to place on the head of Iupiter Dolichenus. The god is armed in usual fashion, and is standing on a bull who moves toward the right; below is a goddess, apparently Isis-Cybele, wearing a lofty diadem and carrying the sistrum and sceptre, riding on a hind. On either side below is a god in armor, the one at the right wearing on his head a bust of the Sun, the other a bust of the Moon. Each carries some uncertain object in his hand. We evidently have here I. O. M. Dolichenus associated with Isis-Cybele and the Sun god. Cf. the similar reliefs found at Kömlöd in Lower Pannonia and at Traisenmauer in Noricum; Domaszewski, *l.c.*, pp. 59 f. Taf. IIII, 1, 2; also the incised bronze-gilt plaque found at Kastell Aalen in Raetia; vid. Haug-Sixt, *Die röm. Inschriften u. Bildwerke Württembergs* (1900), no. 57.

³ vid. *Westd. Zeitschrift*, XVIII (1899), 419, for a statuette found here which possibly represents Iupiter Dolichenus.

To this epigraphical evidence may be added a small bronze statue found at Wichelshof, near Bonn, representing the god, as usual, bearded, in armor, with the strap for his sword over his shoulder, carrying a thunderbolt in his left hand; the double-axe, which he probably held in his right hand, has disappeared. From some projections on the feet of the figure, it seems to have been intended to stand on a bull, according to Hettner, *l.c.*, no. 39. As Bonn was a permanent military camp from before 69/70 A.D. to the end of the empire,¹ this statuette probably was part of a dedication made by some member of the legions or auxiliary troops.

Fortunately, eight of our inscriptions can be dated exactly and one approximately: XIII, 6646 (Stockstadt), 191 A.D.; 7566 a (Wiesbaden), 194 A.D.; 6623 (Obernberg), 207 A.D.; 7411 (Grosskrotzenburg), 211 or 191 A.D.; 8201 (Colonia Agripp.), 211 A.D.; *Westd. Korrespondenzbl.* 1906, 2, 6 (Mogontiacum), 217 A.D., while *ibid.* 2, 5 was set up between 211 and 228 A.D., as the name of the legion — Antoniniana — shows; 8620 (Vetera), 243 A.D.; 7786 (Rigomagus), 250 A.D. So far as our evidence goes, therefore, we must say that the cult of I. O. M. Dolichenus flourished in the Rhine district during the latter part of the second and in the third century of our era.² The position of the dedicators is interesting. A single priest is named in the latest of the datable inscriptions (XIII, 7786, from Rigomagus), Arcias Marinus sacerdos Dolicheni. A majority of the others were soldiers: a *primipilus legionis XXX Vlpiae Victricis* in 243 A.D., at Vetera (XIII, 8620); a second centurion of the same legion in 211 A.D., at Colonia Agrippinensis (XIII, 8201); a *centurio legionis XXII Primigeniae*, at Mogontiacum between 211 and 228 A.D. (*Westd. Korrespondenzbl.* 1906, 2, 5); a *centurio legionis VIII Augustae* in 191 A.D., at Stockstadt (XIII, 6646); a common soldier of the same legion, at Pforzheim (XIII, 6334); a *centurio Brittonum Gurvedensium* (XIII, 7343), a certain Antonius

¹ *vid.* Domaszewski, *CIL*. XIII, ii, 2, p. 537.

² This agrees with the evidence found elsewhere. *Vid.* Kan, 17-19. Cf. also in general on the period when oriental cults were most flourishing in the West, Domaszewski, *Religion des röm. Herres*, 59.

Proclus } Germani. (XIII, 7341 a), and Atilius Tertius ex cohorte II Augusta Qurenaica (XIII, 7342), all at Heddernheim; a praefectus cohortis I civium Romanorum in 211 (or 191) A.D., at Grosskrotzenburg (XIII, 7411); a member of the cohors II Raetorum (XIII, 7457) and a cornicularius (XIII, 7456), at Saalburg; at Obernberg, in 207 A.D., a vexillatio legionis XXII Primigeniae Piaae Fidelis agentium in lignariis (XIII, 6623); and at Köngen a beneficiarius consularis (XIII, 6383). The condition of the dedicators in the remaining ten inscriptions cannot be determined with so much certainty. But the restoration at Wiesbaden (Aquae Mattiacorum) was made in 194 A.D. by the members of the vicus—Vicani Aquenses (XIII, 7566 a); and the citizenship of Tiberius Claudius Tib. fil. Candidus, the dedicator at Saalburg (XIII, 7353/5), is clear;¹ while at Mogontiacum G. Iulius Maternus declares himself a trader. The names of the rest indicate the lower class: Sintillus Ursulus (XIII, 6707), Domitius Germanus (XIII, 7342 a), Flavius Fidelis and Q. Iulius Posstimus (XIII, 7342 b), Masias Sequens (XIII, 7344), and Pudentius Hispanus (XIII, 7345).

From the above it is evident that the worship of this divinity was introduced into the Germanies and carried on there by the soldiers, but with a single exception the inscriptions fail to tell us from what source or by what body of troops it was brought. The centurion of the twenty-second legion at Mogontiacum, Domitius Asclepiades, reports the name of his home (domo Arethusa Suriae), *i.e.* Arethusa, on the Orontes between Epiphania and Emesa. In his transfer from legion to legion the centurion remained faithful to the god of his native country. Probably, however, for the most part the cult came into the Rhine valley from the valley of the Danube and the provinces contiguous to it, as did the worship of Mithras.² We know that the legions in Moesia were

¹ There is a possibility that he was identical with the Tiberius Claudius Candidus, procurator XX hereditatium per Gallias Lugdunensem et Belgicam et utramque Germaniam, . . . praepositus copiarum expeditionis Germanicae secundae, *CIL.* II, 4114.

² vid. Cumont, *Textes et Monuments*, I, 246 ff.

filled from Asia,¹ that in Dacia there were two or three cohortes Commagenorum,² as well as many Asiatics settled there by Trajan.³ Some of these would naturally have brought this worship with them. In Pannonia Carnuntum was a great centre of the cult;⁴ the dedicator at Vetera, Pomponius Marcianus, wrote himself as from this place (*supra*, p. 121). From Pannonia movement along the limes into the Germanies was easy.

Isis, Sarapis, etc.—In marked contrast to the preceding cult Isis and her associates had their devotees chiefly in Narbonese Gaul, where their worship is well attested by inscriptions and other monuments.

Gallia Narbonensis.

Forum Iulii, <i>CIL.</i> XII, 263.	Gratianopolis, XII, 2215.
Massilia, XII, 402 (?). 410.	Parizet, XII, 2217.
Arelate, XII, 714, 10. 11. 734.	Nemausus, XII, 3043. 3058–3061.
Mons Seleucus, XII, 1532.	3224. 4069.
Dea Augusta, XII, 1562.	Sextantio, XII, 4184.
Vienna, XII, 1919.	

Aquitania.

Lugdunum Convenarum, XIII, 153.	Burdigala, XIII, 575.
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Gallia Lugdunensis.

Lugdunum, XIII, 1737. 1738.	Metiosedum, XIII, 3010. ⁵
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Gallia Belgica. Augusta Suessionum, XIII, 3461.

Germania Superior.

Aquae Helvetiorum, XIII, 5233.	Heddernheim, XIII, 7378.
Vesontio, XIII, 5384.	Marienhause, XIII, 7610.
Stockstadt, XIII, 6638.	

¹ Mommsen, *Hermes*, XIX (1884), 7 f.

² Hettner, *De Iove Dolicheno*, 10.

³ Jung, *Römer u. Romanen in den Donauländern*, 1887², 112 ff.

⁴ Dell, *Arch.-epigr. Mitth. aus Oesterreich*, XVI (1893), 176 ff., *CIL.* III, 4401; 11129–11136.

⁵ Gassies, *Rev. des Études anciennes*, IV (1902), 47 ff., corrects this mutilated inscription with great probability from Hirschfeld's suggestion — ser(vus) Ap(ol-
lini) d(eo), etc. — to Serap[i] d[eo] (or better Serap[i]d[i]) v. s. l. m. Sarapis
is named without Isis in only three other inscriptions: XIII, 7610, 8246 Soli
Serapi, and *Westd. Zeitschrift*, XVIII (1899), p. 419; he is associated with the
goddess only in XII, 3058; XIII, 3461. 6638.

Germania Inferior. Colonia Agripp. XIII, 8190. 8191. 8246. *Westd. Zeitschrift*, XVIII (1899), p. 419.

This epigraphical evidence is supplemented by a number of uninscribed monuments, most of which are recorded either by Lafaye or Drexler.¹ While the area from which these finds come is large, most of them testify rather to the general popularity of the Egyptian divinities than indicate centres of worship. Only in the larger cities, Massilia, Arelate, Vienna, and Lugdunum, do the epigraphical and monumental evidence correspond.

In connection with these lists a few things may be noted. Among the towns of Gallia Narbonensis the ancient colony Narbo is not found, which may well surprise us, as it was an important and populous commercial town from the Augustan period² to the fourth and fifth centuries,³ and it can hardly be doubted that it numbered among its inhabitants a considerable number of orientals; yet the only eastern divinity whose worship is attested here is the Romanised Great Mother. This seeming fidelity to the city's position as the oldest Roman colony, — which is very likely due to chance, — inevitably recalls Cicero's words, *pro Fonteio* 5, 13: Narbo Martius, colonia nostrorum civium, specula populi Romani. Nemausus on the other hand has furnished us no less than seven inscriptions; but as was remarked above (p. 117 f.), there was a considerable number of Egyptian Greeks settled here, so that we should expect to find the Egyptian cults in a flourishing condition.

¹ Lafaye, *Le Culte des Divinités d'Alexandrie*, etc., 162 ff. Drexler, *s.v.* Isis in Roscher's *Lexikon*, II, i, 412 f.; 415 f. A brief summary of the localities will here suffice. At Marseilles early in the eighteenth century was found a statue of Isis possibly on the site of an Iseum; also a bust of Sarapis and a statuette of Harpocrates (Jullian, *Bull. épigr. de la Gaule*, VI (1886), p. 124). Statuettes have been discovered also at Arles, Narbonne, Vienne, Lyons, Toulouse, Clermont-Ferrand, Dijon, Nuits-St.-Georges, Sedan, Cernay-les-Reims, and in Alsace (cf. Schoeplin, *Alsatia Illustrata*, I, pl. x); while remote Corseul and Lacmariaquer in the northwest have yielded statuettes of Harpocrates. In modern Belgium and Holland as well not inconsiderable finds have been made.

² Diodorus Sic. v, 38, 5; cf. Strabo, iv, pp. 181, 186, and 192.

³ Sulp. Sev. *Dial.* I, 1, 3; I, 3, 1. Auson. *Urb. Nobil.* 107 ff., *Epist.* 9, 28; Apollinaris Sid. 23, 37 ff.

Outside of Gallia Narbonensis the number of places where worship of the Egyptian gods is certain is not large; and in the Germanies it is not so closely connected with the army as the cult of I. O. M. Dolichenus. Finally it should be observed that the inscriptions do not in all cases prove that Isis was worshipped at the places where they were found. Those from Forum Iulii, Vesontio, and Burdigala are as follows: *CIL.* xii, 263: Kalavia M(arci) | f(ilia uxor) c(enturionis) leg(ionis) iix | hic sit(a) | sacrorum;¹ xiii, 5384: Gemina Titulla | Arausiensis mate[r] | sacrorum hic adquiescit, etc.; xiii, 575: Mercurio | sacrum | Pompeia Thel|gu[s]a mater | sacrorum | v. s. l. m. The same is repeated on the other side. The title *sacri* applied to an association of the worshippers of Isis is well attested, e.g. in Rome, *CIL.* vi, 2244, 2245, *sacri Isidis* side by side with the simple *sacri*, vi, 2279-2282; but there always remains the possibility that the word may here designate an association devoted to some other divinity, e.g. Mithras. Cf. *CIL.* vi, 1778. Still, granting that the meaning of *sacri* is beyond question in these three cases, we have no proof that such associations existed at Forum Iulii, Vesontio, or Burdigala, probable as that may be. Indeed the husband of Gemina Titulla added to her name the place of her birth, Arausio, where she may have reached the position of mater sacrorum; and the fact that the dedication at Burdigala by Thelgusa, mater sacrorum,² was made to Mercurius may arouse our doubts. Likewise the tombstone of an *anuboforus* at Vienna, *CIL.* xii, 1919: D. M. | et memoriae aeternae | Lepidi Rufi anubofori | qui vixit annos xxxx, m. viiii, d. iii, | etc.,³ does not necessarily prove the existence of an Isiac association in that city, although it is probable that one did exist in view of the fact that such were established at Arelate and at Lugdunum (*infra*). In the same fashion

¹ The reading of the second line is doubtful, but the rest seems certain.

² cf. Jullian, *Inscrip. de Bordeaux*, I, 42 f., whose statements as to the divinities to which the *sacri* were attached are somewhat misleading. The corresponding pater sacrorum is also found: *CIL.* vi, 2277, 2278. Cf. iii, 882.

³ The unique title *anuboforus* undoubtedly means, as Hirschfeld, *CIL.* xii, p. 219, comparing *Vita Commodi* 9, suggests, that Lepidus Rufus performed that office in the sacred processions which the Emperor was fond of filling.

the dedication from Gratianopolis, *CIL.* XII, 2215: Aesculapio | sacrum. | Caecus | Isidis aedit(uus) | p(osuit),¹ might leave us doubtful as to the honors paid Isis there, were it not supported by the dedication from Parizet near by, XII, 2217: Isidi matri | Sex. Claudius Valerianus | aram | cum suis ornamentis | ut voverat | d.d.

Passing, however, to more certain evidence, we find at Marseilles a Roman knight who held the office of *propheta*, i.e. priest and interpreter of the divine will (cf. Apul. *Met.* ii, 28, *propheta primarius*) whose office presupposes the existence of a considerable association; and, as has been shown above (p. 124), there was probably a temple also at Marseilles. Such an association at Arelate is proved by the assignment of seats in the amphitheatre to the *pastophori* (XII, 714, IO. II.), and by the existence of a college of *pausarii* (XII, 734). At Nemausus we have more abundant evidence. The exasperatingly fragmentary inscription XII, 3058, refers to some gifts made to the temple of Isis and Serapis, among them statues of Isis, Serapis, Diana, and Somnus, valued at sestertium nummum VI milia; also two gold or gilt cups and silver statuettes of other divinities, including one of Mars;² furthermore it records a donation to the decuriones and ornamentarii of fifteen sesterces apiece as provision for a public dinner. The relation to these gifts of the ordo Biturigum mentioned in the inscription is not clear. We find also an ornatrix (XII, 3061), a sacerdos Tettia Crescé(n)s (XII, 3224), and anubiaci (XII, 3043). At Mons Seleucus, Dea Augusta, and Parizet near Grenoble, the inscriptions are on altars (XII, 1532. 1562. 2217), as at Stockstadt, Marienhausen, and Colonia Agripinensis (XIII, 6638. 7610; *Westd. Zeitschrift* XVIII (1899), 419). At Lugdunum (XII, 1738) Q. Obellius Euangelus dedi-

¹ Hirschfeld regarded the reading of this inscription as uncertain, but no suspicion need arise from the association of Aesculapius and Isis. The goddess is herself a divinity of healing (vid. Drexler in Roscher's *Lex.* II, 1, 521 ff.), and as such is associated with Aesculapius and Hygieia (Drexler, *l.c.* 531 ff.). A parallel to our inscriptions is found at Apulum, *CIL.* III, 973, where a priest of Aesculapius set up a dedication to Sarapis.

² This inscription may be compared with the inventories *CIL.* II, 3386; III, 4806; XIV, 2215.

cated a statue of Fortuna to Isis Augusta¹ in a spot voted him by the decuriones. At Aquae Helvetiorum (Baden) the popularity of Isis is shown by the fact that L. Annusius Magianus erected a temple to her for the vicani Aquenses in ground granted by them, while his wife and daughter gave a hundred denarii for the temple ornaments (xiii, 5233).

As to the position occupied by the dedicants, it has been already noted that a number held sacred offices in the associations. Of these, all were apparently members of the lowest social order² except Annaeus Valerius Pompeius Valerianus, the *profeta* at Marseilles, who held equestrian rank. In the Germanies the dedicator at Marienhausen was a centurion of the legio IIII (xiii, 7610), at Stockstadt (xiii, 6638) and Colonia Agrippinensis (*Westd. Zeitschrift* xviii (1899), 419) beneficiarii consulares. The position of the dedicants, however, throws no light on the source from which the worship of Isis and her associates entered the Gauls and Germanies; indeed in the case of divinities so long and widely known in Sicily and Italy, to say nothing of the eastern Mediterranean, we should undoubtedly make a mistake to suppose that they came from any single source. Massilia, owing to its Greek character and its commercial relations, may well have received the goddess through Greek traders from any one of the Mediterranean emporia, via Puteoli, or from Delos direct, for example. But speculation cannot go beyond probabilities at best; only at Nemausus can one see any direct connection with Egypt (*supra*, p. 117 f.); and the cognomina Leonas (xii, 3043), Eupius (libertus) (xii, 3060), and Trophimio (xii, 4069) suggest Greek origin or descent; as do Thelgusa at Burdigala (xiii, 575), and Euangelus, the cognomen of the dedicator at Lugdunum (xiii, 1738).

Unfortunately but two of the inscriptions can be dated: xii, 410, from Massilia between 161 and 169 A.D. by the words a sacratissimis imp(eratoribus) Antonino et Vero Augustis,

¹ The identification of Isis with Τύχη is well known, so that a statue of Fortuna formed an appropriate gift. Cf. xiii, 7610: I. O. M. Serapi | Caelesti Fortu|nae et genio | loci; also Isityche at Praeneste, *CIL*, xiv, 2867.

² Some were certainly freedmen, xii, 3043. 3060. 4069, all from Nemausus.

and *Westd. Zeitschrift* xviii (1899), 419, from Colonia Agrippinensis, 179 A.D.: imp(eratore) Comm(odo) ii et Vero ii cos(ulibus). Palaeographical indications also point in many cases to the second and third centuries.¹

Finally it is not without interest to observe the divinities with which the Egyptian gods are associated in these inscriptions. The dedication of a signum Fortunae to Isis at Lugdunum and the dedication to Aesculapius by an aedituus Isidis at Gratianopolis have already been mentioned. Near Nemausus, xii, 4069, was found: Lunae et Isidi Augustae sacrum,² etc.; at Stockstadt, the inscription, xiii, 6638, runs: I. O. M. | Conservatori | ceteris diis dea|busque et | genio Iuni Victori|ni co(n)s(ularis), with whom Isis and Sarapis are associated, their busts with the appropriate names being represented on the stone with a caduceus (symbolic of Mercurius?) between them; at Marienhausen, xiii, 7610, the dedication is: I. O. M. Serapi | Caelesti For|tun(ae) et genio | loci, etc.; at Colonia Agrippinensis, xiii, 8246: Soli Serapi and *Westd. Zeitschrift* xviii (1899), 419: I. O. M. et Sera|pi et genio | loci, etc. It should be observed that of these three were erected by soldiers.

Magna Mater. — The worship of the Great Mother of the Gods occupied a different position from that of any other oriental divinity, for it had been officially established at Rome more than three centuries and a half before the earliest evidence appears within the area now under consideration. We are dealing, then, with a cult long familiar, yet one which was so far regarded as foreign and un-Roman that no citizen was allowed to share in the priesthood before the empire, and then only freedmen and members of the lowest class were granted this privilege, subject to the oversight of the XVviri.³ There is, however, no occasion here to enter into the history of the worship of the goddess in general,⁴ but we may confine

¹ xiii, 575, is, however, reported 'litteris saec. primi.'

² The identification of Isis with Selene was common; *vid.* Roscher's *Lex.* II, i, 437 f.

³ *vid.* Wissowa, *Religion u. Kultus d. Römer*, 265.

⁴ For this *vid.* Showerman, *The Great Mother of the Gods*, in *Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin*, 1901, 221-333; Rapp in Roscher's *Lexikon*, II, i, 1666 ff.; Drexler, *ibid.*, 2910 ff.; and the older literature there cited.

ourselves to the distribution of her cult in the Gauls and Germanies. The popularity which the Great Mother enjoyed, owing to the strong appeal to the imagination made by her strange — if sometimes offensive — ritual and priesthood and by the mystery of her service, was increased in the age of the Antonines by the introduction of the taurobolium, the earliest evidence of which is found at Puteoli, *CIL.* x, 1596.¹ Of the seventy-nine inscriptions bearing on the worship of the Great Mother and Attis found in the Gauls and Germanies, fifty-four are taurobolic. Before considering these, however, we will exhibit the geographical distribution of the evidence in the following lists:²

Gallia Narbonensis.³

Vintium, <i>CIL.</i> xii, 1.*	Dea Augusta, xii, 1567*–1569.* <i>Rev.</i>
Moutiers-en-Tarentaise, <i>Rev.</i>	<i>Épig. du Midi de la France</i> , 1888,
<i>Épig.</i> , 1903, 37.	389.*
Sitten, xii, 135.	Valentia, xii, 1744.* 1745.*
Forum Iulii, xii, 251.*	Tegna, xii, 1782.*
Reii, xii, 357.* 358.*	Vienna, xii, 1827 (?). 1878 (?).
Massilia, xii, 405. 411.	1917.
Arausio, xii, 1222.* 1223.	Narbo, xii, 4321*–4329.*
Vasio, xii, 1331.*	Electa, xii, 5374.

Aquitania.

Labroquère, xiii, 83.	Périgueux, xiii, 947. <i>Rev. Épig.</i>
Lactora, xii, 504*–525.*	1906–1907, p. 198.*
Burdigala, xiii, 572. 573.*	

¹ The taurobolium is best treated by Zippel, *Festschrift Ludwig Friedländer dargebracht*, Leipzig, 1895, 498 ff., and by Esperandieu, *Les Inscriptions antiques de Lectoure*, Paris, 1892, 94 ff. On the origin of the rite, see my paper in *H. S. C. P.* xvii (1906), 43–48, combating Cumont's view that it was derived from the worship of the Persian Anâhita, set forth by him in the *Revue Archéol.* xii (1888), 132 ff.; *Revue de Philologie*, xvii (1893), 195 f.; and elsewhere.

² The taurobolic inscriptions are indicated by a star. Attis is named but twice : once with the Great Mother, xiii, 2500 ; once alone, xiii, 6664.

³ To the inscriptions listed should be added xii, 56978, a silver vase found in the Rhone in 1862 between Arles and Tarascon, on one side of which is represented a sacrifice to the Great Mother, who is shown seated surrounded by her attributes ; on the other side is inscribed: Matr(i) M(agnae) p(ondo) 1 . . . scripula ix.

Gallia Lugdunensis.

- Lugdunum, XIII, 1751*-1756.* Augustodunum, *Passio Sancti Symphoriani Martyris* (ca. 180 A.D.), 1961. 2026.
 Bellicium, XIII, 2499. 2500. *Acta Primorum Martyrum*, ed. Ruinart, 1689, pp. 69 ff. Cf. Mesves, XIII, 2896. Gregor. Turon., in *Gloriam Confess.* c. 76. (Referring to Simplicius, bishop in the fourth century.)

Germania Superior.

- Amsoldingen, XIII, 5153. Mogontiacum, XIII, 6664.
 Grozon, XIII, 5358. Castellum Mattiacorum, XIII, 7281.
 Vesoul, XIII, 5451.* 7317.¹
 Aquae, XIII, 6292. Saalburg, XIII, 7458.
 Cannstadt, XIII, 6443. Kreuznach, XIII, 7531.

Germania Inferior. — Pier, XIII, 7865.

The testimony of the inscriptions is supported by statuettes and other smaller monuments, which, however, are less numerous than those of Isis and her associates.² In no case do these uninscribed objects prove a local cult and therefore they need no detailed notice here. But in Aquitania the remains of a temple and fragments of a marble lion were apparently once known between Valcabrière and the left

¹ XIII, 7281, although it is a dedication to Virtus Bellona, is here admitted since it records the restoration of a Vaticanum by the hastiferi, Aug. 23, 236 A.D. In spite of the divergent views as to the character of the hastiferi (vid. Waltzing, *Les Corporations professionnelles*, IV, 92 f., for the literature dealing with the question), all must agree that they formed a religious organization devoted to the worship of Bellona. Mommsen (*Hermes*, xxii, 557) has pointed out that 7317 records a dedication on March 24, *sanguen*, which, together with the Vaticanum of 7281, shows that the hastiferi were devoted to the Great Mother as well as Bellona, although she is not named in either inscription. Indeed the two divinities were undoubtedly associated, if not identified, by the college. That, however, 7317 refers to a taurobolium, as has been maintained, is exceedingly improbable, considering that no celebration of this rite on March 24 is elsewhere recorded in the inscriptions. No. 7317 may therefore be fairly used; but I have not felt warranted in employing XIII, 8184, from Colonia Agripp., Genio hastiferum, or XII, 1814, from Vienna, Signum Genii Namerius Euprepes magister astiferorum d. d.

² The monumental evidence is well presented by Drexler in Roscher's *Lexikon*, II, ii, 2925 ff., where references to the literature may be found. Of the entries in Babelon et Blanchet, *Catalogue des Bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, only nos. 615 and 1456 are of especial interest.

bank of the Garonne; and the ruins of another temple are said to have existed at Augustodunum;¹ a curator templi is named at Electa, XII, 5374; at Bellicium the dedication, XIII, 2499, reads: *Matri deum ///// | T. Albius Attius aram | crepidines columnas | tectum pro[naum] . . .*, in which the *cupidines duo* of XIII, 2500 may have been set up; at Cannstadt the fragmentary inscription, XIII, 6443, testifies to the existence of an *aedes*; at Saalburg also, between 138 and 161 A.D., Antonius Aemilianus centurio legionis XXII . . . *aedem substruxit*, according to XIII, 7458. The *Vaticanum* at Castellum Mattiacorum, XIII, 7281, restored by the *hastiferi* in 236, was undoubtedly a shrine of some sort modelled after the shrine at Rome, the *Vaticanum* beneath St. Peter's where taurobolic inscriptions were recovered early in the seventeenth century.² Beyond this our sources name no buildings, although considerable structures must have existed at many places.

Many of the inscriptions may be dated exactly and a larger number with practical certainty. Since, however, all these are taurobolic with the exception of the earliest, XIII, 7458, from Saalburg (138–161 A.D.), and those set up by the *hastiferi* at Castellum Mattiacorum in 224 and 236 A.D. (XIII, 7317, 7281), it will be convenient to consider the chronology in connection with the localities in which the taurobolium was celebrated. This rite was practically confined to the old Province and the valley of the Garumna, for the only places where it was performed outside these areas were Lugdunum, which, belonging geographically to Gallia Narbonensis, was the metropolis of the Rhone valley, and Vesoul in the upper valley of the Arar, which must have had direct commercial relations with Lugdunum. So far as the evidence goes, the taurobolium was first introduced into the Gauls at Lugdunum in 160 A.D.³ and apparently directly from the Vatican shrine

¹ Drexler, *l.c.* 2924 f.

² *CIL*. VI, 497–504; on *Vaticanum*, vid. Elter, *Rh. Mus.* XLVI (1891), 132.

³ XIII, 1751: *Taurobolio Matris D(eum) M(agnae) Id(aeae) | quod factum est ex imperio Matris | Deum | pro salute imperatoris Caes(aris) T. Aeli | Hadriani Antonini Aug(usti) Pii p(atris) p(atriciae) | liberorumque eius | et status*

in Rome. Zippel (*Das Taurobolium*, 509 ff.) has undoubtedly interpreted correctly the words vires excepit et a Vaticano transtulit as showing that L. Aemius Carpus, a dendrophorus in the religious association devoted to the worship of the Great Mother at Lugdunum, on visiting Rome performed the new rite of taurobolium at the direction of the goddess herself — ex imperio Matris Deum — for the welfare of the imperial family and brought the sacred vires¹ to Lyons and on the spot where the vires were buried (cf. XII, 1567, vires loco conditae) erected this inscribed altar (cf. XIII, 522, vires tauri . . . consecravit). The inscription then is memorial of the ceremony begun at Rome but only completed at Lugdunum, where the cult of the Great Mother was already well established; it also shows that Rome was regarded as the centre of the worship,² the worship in the provinces being apparently under the direction of the quindecimviri³ who honored the priest Sammius Secundus occabo et corona. The next record of the taurobolium here is XIII, 1752, 190 A.D., performed by the college of the dendrophori for the emperor and the imperial house.⁴ The rite was under the direction of

Coloniae Lugudun(ensis) L. Aemilius Carpus IIIIIvir Aug(ustalis) item | dendrophorus | vires excepit et a Vaticano transtulit, ara et bucranium | suo inpendio consecravit, | sacerdote Q. Sammio Secundo ab XVviris | occabo et corona exornato, | cui sanctissimus ordo Lugudunens(is) | perpetuitatem sacerdoti decrevit. | App(io) Annio Atilio Bradua Tito Clodio Vibio | Varo cons(ulibus) | I. d. d. d. (On the other side) cuius mesonyctium factum est V idus Decembres.

¹ Probably the organs of generation, as Zippel, *l.c.* p. 510 ff., and others have held.

² cf. XII, 405, from Massilia, where the Great Mother has the epithet Palatina, and XIII, 7281, Vaticanum . . . restituerunt. As yet the earliest taurobolic inscription, VI, 497, from the city of Rome, dates April 16, 305 A.D. VI, 505 of February 26, 295 A.D. was found near the church of San Sebastiano on the Appian Way. This can hardly be due to chance, for the datable dedications to the Great Mother within the city begin with VI, 30967, 192 A.D. It is much more likely to have been caused by some police regulation; but if this should prove to be true, it would throw some doubt on the interpretation of vires excepit et a Vaticano transtulit given above. As so frequently is the case, we must wait for further evidence.

³ cf. x, 3698. 3699.

⁴ [Pro salute Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M. Aureli Commodi Antonini Aug(usti)] | numinib(us) Aug(ustis) totiusque | domus divinae et situ C(oloniae) C(opiae) C(laudiae) | Aug(ustae) Luguduni | . . . ex vaticatione | Fusoni Iuliani archi|galli, etc.

Aelius Castrensis, who seems to have succeeded Q. Sammius Secundus of 1751. It is certain that he held this office over ten years, for he with the same archigallus, Pusonius Iulianus, is named in a taurobolic inscription¹ of 184 A.D. from Tegna, which with Valentia may have been attributed to Lugdunum;² and he was still sacerdos in 194 A.D. when Augustia Alexandria and Sergia Parthenope according to their vow performed a taurobolium, XIII, 1753: pro salute imp(eratoris) L. Sep|timi Severi Pertina|cis Aug(usti) et D. Clodi | Septimi Albini Caes(aris) | domusq(ue) divinae et sta|tu C(oloniae) C(opiae) C(laudiae) Aug(ustae) Lug(udunensis), etc. Two years later Albinus, proclaimed Augustus by his legions in Britain, came to Gaul and established his headquarters at Lugdunum,³ whose inhabitants seem to have aided him against Septimius Severus to their sorrow, for in February, 197 A.D., Albinus was defeated near the city, and at the end of the month the city itself was pillaged.⁴ Two months and a half, however, sufficed for repentance, if we may judge from XIII, 1754, which records the taurobolium performed ex voto by Septicia Valeriana et Optatia Siora for Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Iulia Augusta, and the colony.⁵ According to this inscription Aelius Castrensis the sacerdos had been replaced by Aelius Anthus, with whom is mentioned for the first time a priestess, Aemilia Secundilla. These offices were evidently held for considerable periods, if not always for life as in the case of Q. Sammius Secundus. The office of tibicen was also of long duration, at Lugdunum

¹ XII, 1782, [Pro sal(ute) imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M. Aur(eli) Commodi | Antonini Aug(usti) Pi|i domusq(ue) divi|nae Colon(iae) Copiae Claud(iae) Aug(ustae) Lug(udunensis) | taurobolium fecit Q. Aquius Antonia|nus pontif(ex) perpetuus | ex vaticatione Pusoni Iuliani archi|galli, inchoatum XII kal(endas) Mai(as) consum|matum VIII kal(endas) Mai(as). L. Eggio Marullo | Cn. Papirio Aeliano co(n)s(ulibus), praeceunte Aelio | C[astren]s[e] sacerdote, tibicine Albio | Verino.

² vid. Hirschfeld, *CIL*. XIII, p. 250.

³ Eckhel, *Doct. Num.* VII, 163.

⁴ Herodian, iii, 7, 7; Dio Cass. lxxv, 7; *Vit. Sev.* II.

⁵ [Pro] salute imp(eratoris) L. Septimi | [Seve]ri Pii Pertinacis Aug(usti) | et M. Aureli Antonini Caes(aris) | imp(eratoris) destinati et | Iuliae Aug(ustae) matris castror(um) | totiusque domus divinae | eorum et statu C(oloniae), etc.

at least, for the same Flavius Restitutus is named in 1752 of 190 A.D., 1753, 194 A.D., and in the present inscription of 197 A.D.¹ The fragmentary inscription 1755 apparently comes from 202–204 A.D.; and 1756 records a ‘private’ taurobolium performed by mother and daughter at an uncertain date.

Finally, it should be noted that the taurobolia were all approved by the decuriones of Lugdunum, as is shown not only by the honor done Sammius Secundus in conferring on him the priesthood for life, XII, 1751, but also by the formula *l. d. d. d.* which is found even in the case of the ‘private’ taurobolium, XIII, 1756; and in nos. 1751–1754² it will be observed that the rite was celebrated for the well-being of the colony as well as of the imperial house.

Not long after the taurobolium was introduced at Lugdunum, it began to be celebrated at other places in the lower valley of the Rhone: at Tegna, XII, 1782, on April 20–23, 184 A.D., the rite was performed for the imperial house and the Colonia Lugudunensis by a pontifex perpetuus under the direction of the sacred officials of Lugdunum, as stated above, p. 132; the evidence is somewhat later at Valentia, XII, 1745 probably dating from 209–211 A.D., *pro salute Augg[g?] | proque domo divina*, etc.; while 1744, performed by the college of the dendrophori Valentini, contains no chronological reference. At Arausio the taurobolium of XII, 1222 was for the safety of Commodus between 185–192 A.D. Narbo has yielded nine taurobolic inscriptions, of which two only can be dated: XII, 4323, 198–209 A.D.;³ and 4324 apparently recording a private taurobolium; but the stone is so worn that it is impossible to determine whether the consuls named are those of 206 or 263 A.D. One naturally inclines to the earlier date to bring it into chronological relation with 4323, but there is no necessity for so doing; yet if 263 A.D.

¹ He may also have officiated at Valentia, XII, 1745, at a taurobolium of a slightly later date, but the restitution is not certain.

² Presumably this was the case in no. 1755 as well.

³ *Imperio deae matris. Tauro|polium provinciae | Narbonensis | factum per C. Batonium | Primum flaminem Augustorum | pro salute dominorum | imp(eratorum) L. Septimi Severi | Pii Pertinacis Aug(usti) Ara|bici Adiabenici Parthi|ci Maximi et M. Aureli | Ant(onini) Aug(usti)*, etc.

is the correct date this inscription records not only the latest datable taurobolium in the Gauls¹ but the latest outside Rome.² It is noteworthy that the rite recorded in 4323 was celebrated in the name of the whole province by the flamen Augustorum; and that one other such celebration is recorded by 4329;³ while 4321 testifies to a celebration by the whole body of citizens at the goddess's command.⁴ These should be compared with XIII, 511. 521. 525 from Lactora.

Of the other taurobolic inscriptions in Gallia Narbonensis only two found at Dea Augusta, *Rev. Épig. du Midi*, 1888, 389; XII, 1567, can be definitely dated. The first was offered by the res publica Vocontiorum for the welfare of Septimius and Caracalla, Geta, and Iulia Augusta between 198–209 A.D. The second, which is dated Sept. 30, 245 A.D., is remarkable in that it records a sacrifice of three bulls for the welfare of the emperor Philip, the empress Otacilia Severa, and their son Philip, by L. Dagidius Marius, pontifex perpetuus civitatis Valentiae, his wife, and daughter, praeaeuntibus sacerdotibus Iunio Tito XVvirali Arausensium et Castricio Zosimione civitatis Albensis et Blattio Paterno civitatis Vocontiorum et Fabricio Orfito Liberi patris et ceteris adsistentibus sacerdotibus. Why the pontifex perpetuus of Valentia with his family should have made this sacrifice at Dea, assisted not only by the local sacerdos, but also by the sacerdotes of Arausio and Alba Helvorum, as well as by others, our knowledge does not allow us to determine; but certainly the conjecture is warranted that we have here an indication of a religious union, more or less close, in this part of the province. The only other case even remotely approaching this is XII, 1782 at Tegna, where the officials belong to Lugdunum (cf. p. 133). The other two taurobolia recorded at Dea were both celebrated pro salute imperatoris, but have no indication

¹ XII, 1567 from Dea Augusta is dated 245 A.D.

² With the exception of *CIA.* III, 172. 173, from Athens, of which the former dates apparently in Julian's reign, the second is fixed as 387 A.D.

³ Only the words taurobolium provinciae are preserved.

⁴ Matri | deum | taurobolium indictum | iussu ipsius ex stipe conlata | celebrant publice Narbon(enses).

of date.¹ The inscription from Vasio, XII, 1311, from its mention of the *domus divina* is probably not earlier than Commodus' reign, and may date from the time of Septimius Severus; likewise the fragmentary XII, 1827 from Vienna, if it be taurobolic, probably dates between 198 and 209 A.D.²

But soon after the taurobolium was introduced at Lugdunum, another centre for the rite was developed at Lactora in Aquitania, a town of whose history we unfortunately know little. The earliest inscriptions there which may be exactly dated are a simple dedication to Marcus Aurelius by the Lactorates, XIII, 526, 176 A.D., and the taurobolic altars, XIII, 505-507, recording celebrations on Oct. 18 of the same year. Clearly earlier than this last is 504 which records the introduction of the taurobolium: *Matri deum | Pomp(eia) Philumene | quae prima L[a]ctor[a]e | taurobolium fecit*. Evidently 508 is of about the same date as 505-507, for the priest Zmintius Procliani (*servus*) is found in all four; in 509 the same priest has become Procliani *libertus*, but this does not necessarily imply a considerable lapse of time. There is no certain record of taurobolia between this period and the time of Gordianus III, when we have no. 510 dating March 24, 239 A.D., and 511-519,³ all recording taurobolia celebrated Dec. 8, 241 A.D. Of the remaining inscriptions, 522-525 may be referred to 176 A.D. or a date near that period by the formula *taurobolium fecit*, 521 to the later date by *taurobolium acceperunt*; it is not so easy to decide with regard to 520: *pro salute | et incolumi|tate domus | divinae r(es) p(ublica) Lactorat(ium) tau|ropolium fecit*, for the closing formula is found in 511 of Dec. 8, 241 A.D., which also records a public celebration.⁴ It

¹ A fourth taurobolic altar uninscribed exists at Dea; vid. Hirschfeld on 1569.

² vid. Hirschfeld, *l.c.*

³ 511 was offered for the welfare of Gordianus, Sabinia Tranquillina, the *domus divina*, and the *civitas Lactorensium* by the *ordo Lactoratium*; all the rest, 512-519, record 'private' taurobolia with the formula *taurobolium acceperit*, the celebrants, except that of 512, being women. The same priest, Traianus Nundinius, appears in 510, 512-519.

⁴ The above agrees with the chronology of Esperandieu, save that he, following Allmer, *Rev. Épig.* 1880, 167, confidently dates 520 as 176 A.D.

seems clear then from our evidence that the taurobolium¹ enjoyed extraordinary popularity at Lactora at dates separated by two-thirds of a century. What the causes for its popularity were at exactly these dates, why it was apparently neglected in the intervening period, and whence it was introduced, are questions which our data do not allow us to answer. The rite was twice performed by the community, XIII, 511. 520, but in all other cases the celebrants were private citizens, apparently of the lower class; a majority were women, one of whom seems to have been a slave.²

When we turn to the Germanies we find no taurobolic inscriptions, with the exception of XIII, 5451, found near Vesoul, which place, however, was geographically associated with Lugdunum and the Rhone Valley. Three dedications may be dated: XIII, 7458, from Saalburg, set up in the reign of Antoninus Pius; 7317 and 7281, from Castellum Mattiacorum, March 24, 224 A.D., and Aug. 23, 236 A.D., respectively.³

From the above it appears that our evidence for the Gauls and Germanies is confined to the period from Antoninus Pius to about the middle of the third century,⁴ which corresponds with the chronology of the other oriental cults so far as it can be determined.⁵ Dendrophori are attested at Massilia, XII, 411; Valentia, XII, 1744; Vienna, XII, 1878 (?). 1917; Lugdunum, XIII, 1751. 1752. 1961. 2026; Amsoldingen, XIII, 5153. We have mention of but one archigallus, XII, 1782; XIII, 1752; a single tibicen, XII, 1745 (?); XIII, 1752-1754; while sacerdotes are frequent. The position of the dedicants has been already touched on above. The cases in which the entire community joined in the rite of taurobolium, — at Narbo, XII, 4321. 4323. 4329; and at Lactora, XIII, 511. 520, as well as the taurobolia offered for the welfare of Lugdunum, XIII, 1751-1754; XII,

¹ It is remarkable that the only other tituli sacri found at Lactora are two dedications to Jupiter, XII, 502. 503.

² XIII, 507, Hygia Sil(a)nae (serva).

³ cf. *supra*, p. 130.

⁴ With the exception of the passage in Gregory of Tours, in *Gloriam Confess.* c. 76, which testifies to the persistence of the cult at Augustodunum in the fourth century.

⁵ cf. *supra*, p. 121; Cumont, *Textes et Monuments*, II, 540.

1782 all testify to the popularity of the Great Mother with the entire communities. But the individual dedicators all belong to the lowest classes, so far as we can judge, with the exception of the *seviri* at Reii, XII, 358, and at Lugdunum, XIII, 1751; only two dedications by soldiers are found in the entire number, a *centurio cohortis XXVI* at Aquae, XIII, 6292, and a *centurio legionis XXII* at Saalburg, XIII, 7458; all others were made either by officials attached to the cult or by private individuals.

Mithras. — Although the worship of Mithras was the most important among oriental cults, the monumental work of Cumont makes it possible to treat the subject here briefly.¹

Gallia Narbonensis.

- | | |
|--|----------------------------------|
| Aquae Sextiae, <i>CIL.</i> XII, 511 (C. Vienna, XII, 1811 (C. 500).
305). | Lucey, XII, 2441 (C. 499). |
| Glanum, XII, 1003 (C. 504). | Genava, XII, 2587 (C. 506). |
| Vasio, XII, 1324 (C. 496). | Bourg-St. Andréol, XII, 2706 (C. |
| Mons Seleucus, XII, 1535 (C. 497). | 501). |
| 5686 _{1160 a, b, c} , (C. 498). | Sextantio, XII, 4188 (C. 502). |
| Vif, XII, 1551 (C. 505). | |

Aquitania.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| Soulam, XIII, 379 (C. 511). | Elusa, XIII, 542 (C. 507). 546?
(C. 510). ² 558 (C. 508). ³ |
|-----------------------------|--|

Gallia Lugdunensis.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| Lugdunum, XIII, 1771 (C. 493). | Venetonimagus, XIII, 2540 (C. 494).
1772 (C. 492). |
| Bellicium, XIII, 2503 (?). | 2541 (C. 495).
Intaranum, XIII, 2906 (C. 495 <i>bis</i> ⁴). |

¹ The only additions to be made to the inscriptions quoted by Cumont are *CIL.* XIII, 2503 (?). 4472. 4477. 4735. 6274 (?). 7570 *a, b, c, d.* 7571 *a.* 8155 (?). 8246, which, however, in no sense affect his conclusions. In the lists no distinction is made between inscriptions containing the name of Mithras and those dedicated to solar gods.

² XIII, 547 seems to name the same man as 546, with the descriptive *sanctissimo sa[cerdoti]*, *i.e.* *dei invicti*.

³ C. 509: *Deo Soli invicto Mithrae*, is omitted by the editors of *CIL.*

⁴ As corrected by Cumont, *T. et M.*, I, p. 363.

Gallia Belgica.

- Teu, XIII, 3613-3614 (C. 464-5). Pons Saravi, XIII, 4539-4541 (C. Augusta Treverorum, XIII, 3663 491 *a, b, c*).
(C. 491). Deneuvre, XIII, 4735.
Herapel, XIII, 4472. 4477.

Germania Superior.

- Lousonna, XIII, 5026 (C. 448¹). Boeckingen, XIII, 6477 (C. 423).
Aquae Helvetiorum, XIII, 5236 Murthardt, XIII, 6530 (C. 428).
(C. 449). Osterburken, XIII, 6576 (C. 426).
Augusta Rauricorum, XIII, 5261 Mogontiacum, XIII, 6754-6758
(C. 451). 5262 (C. 450). (C. 458. 444. 446. 445*a*. 445).
Grand, XIII, 5940 (C. 452). Hedderheim, XIII, 7361-7367
Nähweiler, XIII, 6058 (C. 453). (C. 437. 434. 435. 436. 438.
Rheinzabern, XIII, 6086 (C. 447). 440. 439). 7368. 7369 (C.
Epamantodurum, C. 422 *a*.² 441). 7370 (C. 433).³
Oppenheim, XIII, 6274 (?). Friedberg, XIII, 7396-7399 (C.
Rottenburg, XIII, 6362 (C. 429). 442 *c*. 442. 442 *d*. 442 *a*). 7400.
Lobenfeld, XIII, 6391 (C. 455). (C. 442 *b*).
6392 (C. 454). Grosskrotzenburg, XIII, 7415 (C.
Neuenheim, XIII, 6396 (C. 424). 431). 7416 (C. 430). 7419
6406 (C. 425). (C. 432).
Lengfeld, XIII, 6431 (C. 457). Aquae Mattiacorum, XIII, 7570 *a*-
6432 (C. 456). 7570 *d*. 7571 (C. 443). 7571 *a*.

Germania Inferior.

- Rigomagus, XIII, 7815 (C. 466). Durnomagus, XIII, 8523 (C. 462).
Rheder, XIII, 7958/9 (C. 459). 8524 (C. 461).
Bonna, XIII, 8034. 8042 (C. 460). Vetera, XIII, 8607 (C. 469), 8640
Cf. Mon. 261). (C. 463).
Sechten, XIII, 8155 (?) Wiltenburg, XIII, 8812 (C. 470).
Colonia Agrippinensis, XIII, 8245
(C. 467). 8246.⁴

¹ Cumont (*T. et M.*, I, 257. n. 4) no longer regards this as Mithraic, but a dedication Soli, Genio, Lunae can hardly be left out of account.

² Apparently omitted by the editors of *CIL*. XIII; but the inscription seems well authenticated.

³ XIII, 7361-7368 all come from the first mithraeum; to these Cumont adds 7370, but on what warrant I do not know. 7369 was found in the third mithraeum.

⁴ 8246 is dedicated to Sol Serapis and perhaps belongs here rather than to the

This epigraphical evidence is supported by, and indeed in a number of cases depends upon, the monuments, many of which are of prime importance for the understanding of Mithraic worship. These monuments are described in detail by Cumont, *l.c.* II, nos. 240-266; 273 *bis*-281 *bis* (pp. 340-389; 396-404; 506-519).¹ It is sufficient here to note their provenance (places where mithraea have been found are indicated by a star):—**Gallia Narbonensis**: Vienna,* Bourg-Saint-Andéol,* Mons Seleucus, Arelate, Narbo; **Aquitania**: Elusa; **Gallia Lugdunensis**: Lugdunum, Alesia,² Venetionimagus*; **Gallia Belgica**: Augusta Treverorum, Pons Saravi,* Gesoriacum; Rinxent, near Boulogne-sur-Mer(?); **Germania Superior**: Argentoratum, Fellbach, Beihingen, Wahlheim, Besigheim, Hölzern, Mannheim, Neuenheim,* Osterburken,* Gross-Krotzenburg,* Friedburg* (3), Ober-Florstadt,* Heddernheim* (3), Saalburg,* Wiesbaden,* Mogontiacum, Schwarzen-den,* Rheinzabern* (?), Neuwied; **Germania Inferior**: Bonna, Colonia Agrippinensis, Durnomagus,* Vetera.*³ The distribution of this evidence can be most conveniently seen in the map given by Cumont at the end of his first volume.

Fortunately nine of our inscriptions may be dated: XIII, 6477 from Boeckingen can be fixed by nos. 6469, 6472 as not far from 148 A.D.; XIII, 8812 from Wiltenburg belongs to the reign of Marcus Aurelius (*Prosop. Imp. Rom.* I, 85); XIII, 8640 from Vetera dates 189 A.D.; 8607 from the same place, 223 A.D.; from Genava we have XII, 2587 of 201 A.D.; XIII, 6754, 6755 from Mogontiacum, of 213 and 214 A.D. respectively; XIII, 7570c, from Aquae Mattiacorum, probably belongs to 218 A.D.; and the latest of all, XII, 1551 from Vif, dates between 269 and 273 A.D.⁴ These few datable inscriptions probably give a fair indication of the period when the Mithraic worship was most flourishing not only in our territory, cult of Serapis. Cf. *CIL.* III, 3, 7771; VI, 402; XIV, 47; XI, 5738. The very fragmentary inscription C. 468 is not accepted by the editors of *CIL.*

¹ The lists contain only places which have yielded certain mithraic monuments.

² Alesia must be added to the list given by Cumont; vid. the communication of Espérandieu, *C. R. de l'Acad. des Ins. et Belles-Lettres*, 1907, p. 288.

³ The existence of a mithraeum at Vetera is probable, although not certain.

⁴ cf. Hirschfeld, *ad loc.*

but in the provinces in general.¹ The lists given by Cumont, *T. et M.*, II, pp. 540 f., show in striking fashion that the cult lost its popularity in the provinces before the close of the third century, and indeed from early in the fourth century was practically restricted to Rome, if we may judge from the epigraphical evidence which can be fixed chronologically.²

The dedicators in the Germanies were often soldiers; at Wiltenburg in the reign of Marcus Aurelius Q. Antistius Adventus, legatus Augusti pro praetore (provinciae Germaniae Inferioris), set up a dedication to Sol invictus and eight other associate divinities; and at Mogontiacum in 213 A.D. the legatus pro praetore Germaniae Superioris erected a statue in honor of Caracalla, whom he identified with deus invictus Sol. Other dedicators held lower ranks: at Rottenburg the dedication XIII, 6362 was made by a miles legionis XXII; at Boeckingen, XIII, 6477 by a centurio legionis VIII; at Murrhardt, XIII, 6530 by a tribunus cohortis XXIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum; at Mogontiacum, XIII, 6755 by a duplarius alae; at Heddernheim, XIII, 7362 by a centurio cohortis XXXII voluntariorum; at Friedberg two dedications, XIII, 7399, 7400, were set up in the mithraeum by the same beneficiarius consularis; at Grosskrotzenburg, XIII, 7415 by a medicus cohortis IIII (?), XIII, 7416 by an immunis legionis VIII, and XIII, 7419 by a member of the cohors IIII Vindellicorum; at Aquae Mattiacorum, XIII, 7571 by a common soldier; XIII, 7570 b by three veterani legionis XXII; at Durnomagus, XIII, 8523 by a buccinator, XIII, 8524 by a duplarius alae Noricorum, civis Thrax; and finally at Vetera, where a centurio legionis XXX, who had formerly served in the legio XXII, set up XIII, 8640 in 189 A.D., and in 223 A.D. the milites legionis XXX erected the altar bearing XIII, 8607, which illustrates as fully as could be desired the hold which the Mithraic cult had in places on the soldiery, from the highest officials to

¹ The invasion of the agri decumates in 275 naturally caused a break at that point, but it should be observed that the latest epigraphical evidence of oriental cults in the areas we are considering is XII, 1551, from Vif, a dedication Ignibus Aeternis, 269-273 A.D. The last in the Germanies is XIII, 7786, to I. O. M. Dolichenus, at Rigomagus, 250 A.D.

² cf. however Cumont, *T. et M.*, II, p. 518 y.

the ranks.¹ Probably we should also reckon to the credit of the army XIII, 6576, from Osterburken, on the splendid relief (Cumont, *T. et M.*, II, no. 246) erected by a certain mercatorius castrensis. No oriental name is shown among the soldiery.

All this evidence forms a strong support for those who hold that the army was the prime factor in spreading the cult of Mithras, and Cumont (*op. cit.* I, pp. 246–261) is undoubtedly right in all that he has to say as to the army's agency. Yet it should be observed that even in the Germanies the army did not furnish the only devotees; indeed, considerably more than half the dedications were made by civilians. The majority of these civilians were apparently of humble station, although most have the *tria nomina*; some few may have been slaves.² The only officials recorded are at Lousonna, XIII, 5026, Publius Clodius Cornelia Primus, curator vikano-rum Lousonnensium II, sevir Augustalis curator civium Romanorum conventus Helvetici, and at Heddernheim, XIII, 7370, Murius Victor, aedilis civitatis Taunensis. There is but one certain case of a Celt, XIII, 7369, on a monument found in the third mithraeum at Heddernheim—Senilius Carantinus, civis Mediomatrici, with which we may perhaps compare XIII, 4472, 4477 from Herapel in the former country of the Mediomatrici, both of which were set up by M. Liaoius Levinus, who was possibly of Celtic origin. If, therefore, we must attribute the introduction of the cult to the troops, we must at the same time recognize that our evidence tends to show that, even on the frontier, the civilians outnumbered the soldiers among the devotees.

The civilian character of the worship in the Three Gauls

¹ The inscription is worth quoting entire: In h. d. d. pro | salute imp(eratoris) Severi | Alexandiri (*sic*) Aug(usti) deo | Apollini Dyspro (?) Lu(nae) S'olique de(is) milites legionis XXX V(aleriae) v(ictricis) p(iae) f(idelis) sub cura | agent(ium) T. F(lavii) Apri Com(modiani) leg(ati) Aug(usti) p(ro)p(raetore) et | Cannuti Modesti leg(ati) | leg(ionis) Sept(imius) Mucatra | imag(inifer) et Sept(imius) Callus | et Sept(imius) Mucatra et | Sept(imius) Deospor(us) et Sept(imius) | Sammus et Sept(imius) Mucatra | candidati v. s. l. m. | Maximo it(erum) et Aeliano | cos.

² XIII, 5940 seems fairly certain; but in such cases as XIII, 6058, Edullius Visurionis, XIII, 6086, Tertius Rustici, etc., it is doubtful whether we should understand *filius* or *servus*.

and the old Province is most clearly marked. In the entire area only three dedications by soldiers are found: XII, 2587 at Genava made in 201 A.D. by a miles legionis VIII, — but it must be remembered that Genava belonged geographically quite as much to Upper Germany as to Narbonese Gaul, lying as it did on the high road between the Rhine Valley and the Mediterranean; XIII, 1771 at Lugdunum by a frumentarius et commentariensis; and XII, 1551 set up by Iulius Placidianus, vir clarissimus, praefectus praetori, soon after 269 A.D., when he was commanding the vigiles sent out by Claudius from Rome (XII, 2228). Placidianus is the only one of all the dedicators in the Gauls who did not belong to the third estate, and it should be observed that the inscription set up by him is by far the latest of all datable inscriptions within our areas, and belongs to the period when the Roman aristocracy were beginning to embrace enthusiastically oriental cults. The nationality of the humbler dedicators in most cases cannot be determined: the fact that Greek cognomina appear — Onesimus XII, 511; Eudaemon, XII, 1003; Chrysomallus XII, 1324; Logos XII, 4188; Eutyches XIII, 542; Eutactus XIII, 2540 — does not furnish much clue, considering that Greeks had been established so many centuries in Narbonese Gaul; the single names Gaudentius, Hector, Euporius, on potsherds from Mons Seleucus, XII, 5686, ¹¹⁶⁰ a, b, c, indicate the only probable slaves in the total number. Finally it must be observed that the cult of Mithras had penetrated to those of Celtic origin. The dedication XIII, 2541, num(inibus) Aug(ustis) | deo Soli | pro salut(e) | C. Amand(i) Bel|licatidos | et Amand(i) Maioris fil(ii) eius | vicani Ven|etonimage[n]s]es ob mer[ita], shows the corporate action of the community, and indeed is the only such case in connection with Mithras, with the possible exception of XIII, 7815 from Grosskrotzenburg in Upper Germany, which was set up pro bono comuni.¹ At Elusa also Sextus Vervicius Eutyches, who is the dedicant in XIII, 542 (cf. 558), names himself civis Trevir.

¹ cf. the honor which the Great Mother received from communities, *supra*, p. 133.

From these facts then it is clear that the soldiers were not the most numerous devotees of Mithras, but rather that the humbler part of the Roman or Romanized population formed the bulk of his worshippers. Nor have we certain evidence that foreign traders or slaves were any considerable portion of the number. In view of this, it may be necessary to revise somewhat the common notions as to the chief classes represented among the Mithraic communities.

No sacred officials are mentioned in the inscriptions from the Germanies, numerous as they must have been; but the grade of miles is twice mentioned, XIII, 7570 *d.* 7571, both found at Aquae Mattiacorum. In the Gauls, however, we find at Venetonimagus, G. Rufius Eutactus, pater patrum, XIII, 2540; at Elusa, Sextus Vervicius Eutyches, vestiarius, civis Trevir, pater, XIII, 542. 558; at Sextantio, Publius Anthius Logos, pater sacrorum, XII, 4188; while at Vasio, L. Apronius Chrysomallus made a dedication ob gradum persicum, XII, 1324. The fragmentary XIII, 546 and 547 seem to record a Mithraic sacerdos.

Aside from Luna, the consort of Sol, we find associated with Mithras (Sol invictus) the genius loci at Genava and Lousonna, XII, 2587, XIII, 5026; numen Augustorum at Venetonimagus and Lengfeld, XIII, 2541. 6431. 6432; at Vetera Apollo dyspros (?), XIII, 8607; while at Wiltenburg was found the interesting inscription XIII, 8812: I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) summo | exsuperantissimo | Soli invicto Apollini | Lunae Dianae Fortunae | Marti Victoriae Paci | Q. Antistius Adventus | [I]egatus Augusti pr(o) pr(aetore) | dat. We see here united two classes of divinities: Iupiter, Sol invictus, Apollo, Luna, Diana (= Hecate), of which the last four naturally belong together, while the association or identification of a supreme male divinity with Iupiter is too familiar to require illustration; the second four, Fortuna, Mars, Victoria, Pax, are preëminently the gods of the soldier, warrants and personifications of his success.¹ A few separate dedications to other gods than Mithras (Sol invictus) have been found in mithraea: to Iupiter Optimus Maximus at Neuenheim,

¹ cf. Domaszewski, *Religion d. röm. Heeres*, I ff.; 37 f.; 40.

xiii, 6396; to Fortuna at Heddernheim, xiii, 7365; and at Friedberg to Matronae, xiii, 7396, and Deae Quadrubiae, xiii, 7398.

It has just been pointed out above that a large majority of the devotees of Mithras were civilians; the same statement holds for the other cults which had a considerable vogue, with the exception of that of I. O. M. Dolichenus. In his case alone are a majority of the dedicators soldiers, whereas only two dedications to the Great Mother were set up by members of the army, and the same is true in the case of Isis.¹ It is therefore obvious that we must not regard the oriental gods — with the exception just noted — as connected especially with the armies. Many of them undoubtedly owed their introduction and initial spread to the soldiery, but their worship was soon taken over by civilians and cultivated by them more than by the troops, even if the total number of devotees remained small.

Two important considerations now remain. To treat the cults of oriental origin apart from those which had their source in Rome or were native to the Gallic and Germanic provinces, is misleading, in that such a partial presentation may readily leave the impression that the oriental gods had position and influence superior to all the rest. The evidence points clearly the other way, if we may accept our data as valid in a general sense and are content not to insist on an exact percentage in relationship. In the lists given below it has not seemed necessary to consider all the towns in which evidence of oriental cults is found, but rather wiser to select the important centres in each district, where among the dedications set up by a somewhat large and varied population, chance and time may have left us a fairer basis for judgment than in the smaller and more isolated places. If the latter were taken into account, we should have some more striking instances than those shown below, *e.g.* at Lactora in Aquitania, where twenty-two dedications to the

¹ The single dedication to Dea Caelestis, one of the two to Iupiter Sabasius, and two of the four to I. O. M. Heliopolitanus were also set up by soldiers; but these instances are too few to allow us to form any inductions.

Great Mother have been found against two to Iupiter Optimus Maximus, one to Diva Faustina, and no others. But confining ourselves to the selected towns given in the list, we are struck with the great number of gods worshipped in certain places and no less by the paucity of data from others. In Narbonese Gaul Massilia has yielded two dedications, one each to Apollo and Bellinus, and an honorary inscription to Germanicus, erected by the *magistri Larum Augustorum*, against five dedications to oriental gods. Arlate and Arausio also, considering their importance, have given comparatively little evidence. Dea Augusta with its predecessor *Lucus Augusti* presents some interesting evidence; for with the exception of a single dedication to Iupiter Optimus Maximus, one to the Lares, and the dedications to Isis and the Great Mother, we may doubt whether we are not to regard Mars, Mercurius, Silvanus, and Vulcanus as much Celtic gods as Andarta, Bormanus, and Bormanana. Narbo also gives us comparatively slight information, but such as it is it seems to show that the colony remained true to its Roman character, admitting no oriental except the Romanized Great Mother, whose worship here enjoyed great vogue. Vasio, Vienna, and Nemausus, on the other hand, show a great variety of cults; but if we again allow for the working of the *interpretatio Romana* in the cases of Mars, Mercurius, and Silvanus, the proportion of dedications to the Celtic divinities is a high one; the same proportion is found at Burdigala, Lugdunum, and Augusta Treverorum. When we turn to the German frontier with its large bodies of troops, bound by oath to the state, we discover a change; the proportion of dedications to Iupiter Optimus Maximus notably increases,¹ and we find divinities peculiar to the soldiery, which naturally found little representation in the Gallic provinces.²

Returning now to the oriental gods, the tables show that we cannot speak of these divinities as dominant; indeed, the

¹ In such cases we must make considerable allowance for the influence of the traditional state religion in favor of the Roman pantheon.

² Such as *Honor aquilae, legionis*; *Pietas legionis*; *Bonus Eventus*; etc.

proportion of extant dedications to them in the towns selected from Gallia Narbonensis compared with those to all other gods is a little short of 17 : 100; in the three cities of the Tres Galliae somewhat over 15 : 100; and in the four towns of the Germanies a little over 14 : 100. In the last case the proportion is raised by the extraordinary popularity of I. O. M. Dolichenus and Mithras at Heddernheim, so that for this town alone the proportion is over 63 : 100, while for the other three it is less than 1 : 100. Of course all such numerical statements as these can only roughly represent the actual relationships; but the small and similar proportion of dedications to oriental divinities is not wholly the result of chance; on the contrary, it indicates how far the eastern gods were from overthrowing the Roman and Celtic divinities. Although it is true that the Great Mother was publicly honored in Lugdunum, Narbo, Lactora, and elsewhere, that the vicani Venetomimagenses united in worshipping Mithras, that the vicani Aquenses restored the shrine of I. O. M. Dolichenus, and that the position and worship of the emperor were profoundly influenced by the Mithraic religion (Cumont, *T. et M.*, I, pp. 279-292), we still must recognize that for the most part the orientals were worshipped by humble individuals or by members of small religious communities who taken together did not form a large part of the total population.

It is perhaps unnecessary to insist that the above holds only for the areas under discussion and for the period from Antoninus Pius to Aurelian, and that the conditions in these provinces likewise have little bearing on the religious conditions among the Roman aristocracy at the end of the third and in the fourth centuries. Imperial influences, philosophy, — especially Neo-Platonism, — and the threatening advance of Christianity had not yet unified pagan religious thought and practice in the places and the period which we have treated.

Harnack, *Mission u. Ausbreitung des Christentums*, 1906,² pp. 270-274, discusses the possible rivalry between Mithraism and Christianity, which in turn suggests the interesting questions whether any rivalry between oriental paganism and Christianity can be detected in the Gauls and Germanies,

whether Christianity developed in centres where oriental cults were weak or non-existent, or whether the two lived side by side. Naturally our data do not allow us to make a single or certain answer to these questions. The only places where Christianity had a certain hold in Gaul before the end of the second century were Lugdunum and Vienna, in both of which the Great Mother, Isis, and Mithras had their devotees. But it was inevitable that Christianity, like any new religion, should get its first hold in cities having commercial relations, a considerable size, and a varied population. In such communities different religious associations could exist without rivalry so long as they remained small, and the churches in these two cities cannot have been large at the time of the persecution in 177 A.D. But between this date and the early fourth century missionaries carried the new faith throughout southern Gaul, up the valley of the Saône, across to the valley of the Seine, as well as down the Moselle and along the Rhine.¹

If we compare Harnack's lists of bishoprics in the Gauls (*L.c.*, pp. 226 ff.) with our lists, we find that Christianity seems in most cases not to have avoided centres where oriental paganism was established, but to have developed beside it. Remembering that few dedications to oriental gods later than the middle of the third century have been found in our areas, one inevitably conjectures that this cessation was somehow connected with the spread of Christianity. In certain cases, it is true, bishoprics were established in places somewhat remote from oriental influences like Mende and Bourges in Aquitania, Paris, Rouen, Sens, and Saint-Dié in Gallia Lugdunensis, and Rheims in Gallia Belgica; on the other hand, Marseilles, Arles, Orange, Vaison, Vienne, Bordeaux, Lyons, Autun, Trèves, Mayence, and Cologne all furnished opportunities for religious conflict,² of which we have an instance in the anecdote given by Gregory of Tours,

¹ cf. Harnack, *L.c.*, pp. 222-232, and his maps I and II.

² Yet we should remember that in some places, as certainly at Trèves, the number of Christians was very small well into the fourth century, and so we do not need to suppose that any serious conflicts with paganism took place.

in *Gloria Confess.*, c. 76, where he relates how the bishop Simplicius at Autun in the fourth century shattered the image of the Great Mother by his prayer and so converted the community. For the most part, however, we can only imagine what the conflicts may have been; the result alone is known to us.

ADDENDUM

By oversight the unique dedication to the Syrian *Deus Casius* at Heddernheim has been omitted, XIII, 7330: *Deo | Casio | Ovinus | v. s. l. m.*

The following table shows the number of inscriptions bearing on the worship of the several divinities in the places selected. In addition to what has been said above, pp. 145-147, we may note that the dedications to Iuno are apparently all to Iuno Regina with the exception of the single one at Lugdunum and four of the six at Nemausus. The dedications to Genius show considerable variety. At Nemausus eight are to the genius illius; such are found also at Arelate (1), Vasio (2), Narbo (2), and Lugdunum (2); but none in the German towns. Dedications to the genius collegi (corporis) are found at Vasio (1), Lugdunum (2), Augusta Treverorum (2?), Mogontiacum (3), and Colonia Agrippinensis (2). Mogontiacum shows the military character of its population by one dedication each to the genius legionis and genius cohortis, and eleven to the genius centuriae.

[illegible]

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

THIRTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

HELD AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, DECEMBER, 1907

ALSO OF THE NINTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE

Philological Association of the Pacific Coast

HELD AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

DECEMBER, 1907

MEMBERS IN ATTENDANCE AT THE THIRTY-NINTH
ANNUAL MEETING, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Frank Frost Abbott, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
George Henry Allen, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O.
Hamilton Ford Allen, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
Katharine Allen, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
Andrew Runni Anderson, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
R. Arrowsmith, New York, N. Y.
Grove E. Barber, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.
Le Roy C. Barret, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
Herbert J. Barton, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
William N. Bates, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
Paul V. C. Baur, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
Edward A. Bechtel, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Charles H. Beeson, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Campbell Bonner, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Demarchus C. Brown, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis, Ind.
Carl D. Buck, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Theodore C. Burgess, Bradley Polytechnic Institute, Peoria, Ill.
Mitchell Carroll, The George Washington University, Washington, D. C.
Clarence F. Castle, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
George H. Chase, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Arthur Stoddard Cooley, Auburndale, Mass.
Walter Dennison, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
William Prentiss Drew, Knox College, Galesburg, Ill.
Charles L. Durham, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
Emily Helen Dutton, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
William S. Ebersole, Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Ia.
H. Rushton Fairclough, Leland Stanford University, Cal.
Thomas Fitz-Hugh, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.
Roy C. Flickinger, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
Charles H. Forbes, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass.
Frank H. Fowler, Lombard College, Galesburg, Ill.
Harold N. Fowler, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
Charles J. Goodwin, Lehigh University, So. Bethlehem, Pa.
George D. Hadzsits, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
Walter D. D. Hadzsits, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
John Calvin Hanna, Oak Park, Ill.
William Fenwick Harris, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
J. E. Harry, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O.
Nathan Wilbur Helm, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H.
Milton W. Humphreys, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.

Frederick L. Hutson, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
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 George Dwight Kellogg, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
 Francis W. Kelsey, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
 Gordon F. Laing, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 A. G. Laird, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
 O. F. Long, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
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 John M. Manly, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
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 Arthur Stanley Pease, Harvard University, Cambridge Mass.
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 Franklin H. Potter, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.
 David M. Robinson, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
 Benjamin H. Sanborn, Wellesley, Mass.
 Henry A. Sanders, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
 W. S. Scarborough, Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, O.
 J. J. Schlicher, State Normal School, Terre Haute, Ind.
 John Adams Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
 F. W. Shipley, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
 Paul Shorey, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 Moses Stephen Slaughter, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
 Charles N. Smiley, Iowa College, Grinnell, Ia.
 Charles Forster Smith, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
 Frank B. Tarbell, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 LaRue Van Hook, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
 Charles Heald Weller, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.
 Andrew F. West, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
 Alexander M. Wilcox, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan.
 George A. Williams, Kalamazoo College, Kalamazoo, Mich.
 Gwendolen B. Willis, Milwaukee-Downer College, Milwaukee, Wis.
 Harry Langford Wilson, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
 Ellsworth D. Wright, Lawrence University, Appleton, Wis.

[Total, 83]

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

I. PROGRAMME

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 27

FIRST SESSION, 9.30 O'CLOCK

PAUL SHOREY

Choriambic Dimeter and the Rehabilitation of the Antispast (p. 57)

MINTON WARREN¹

On Some Latin Etymologies

J. E. HARRY

The Use of *olos*, *poios*, and *epoios* (p. xxviii)

HAMILTON FORD ALLEN

The Verbal in *-teo* in Polybius (p. xiii)

ROY C. FLICKINGER

The Accusative of Exclamation in Plautus and Terence (p. xvii)

ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE

Notes on Stoning among the Greeks and Romans (p. 5)

HERBERT CUSHING TOLMAN

The Historical and the Legendary in Herodotus' Account of the
Accession of Darius, iii, 27-88 (read by title, p. xxiv)

KIRBY F. SMITH²

On the Sources of Ben Jonson's Song, "Still to be neat, still to be
dressed" (read by title)

WILFRED P. MUSTARD

Two Notes in Classical Mythology (read by title, p. xxi)

GEORGE DEPUE HADZSITS

Apollo and the Python Myth (read by title, p. xvii)

¹ Died November 26, 1907 (p. viii).

² This paper appears in *American Journal of Philology*, xxix, 133-155.

JOINT SESSION WITH THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

8 O'CLOCK P.M.

FRANCIS W. KELSEY

Is there a Science of Classical Philology? Annual Address of the
President of the Association (p. xx)

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 28

SECOND SESSION, 2 O'CLOCK

JOHN ADAMS SCOTT

The Force of Sigmatism in Homer (p. xxiii)

CAMPBELL BONNER

- (1) On a Gloss in Suidas
- (2) The Epithet of the Pine in Artemidorus ii, 25 (p. xiv)

THOMAS FITZ-HUGH

Rhythmic Alternation and Coincidence of Accent and Ictus in Latin
Metric Art (p. xv)

J. E. HARRY

On the Interpretation of the First Antistrophe of the *Ajax* of Sopho-
cles (read by title, p. xix)

CURTIS C. BUSHNELL

The Aeschylean Element in Mrs. Browning's Writings (read by title,
p. xiv)

W. S. SCARBOROUGH

The Greeks and Suicide (read by title, p. xxii)

SECOND JOINT SESSION WITH THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL
INSTITUTE

8 O'CLOCK P.M.

GEORGE F. MOORE

Aramaic Papyri recently found at Assuan (p. xx)

FRANK FROST ABBOTT

The Theatre as a Factor in Roman Politics under the Republic
(p. 49)

JOHN M. MANLY

"A Knight Ther Was" (p. 89)

MONDAY, DECEMBER 30

THIRD JOINT SESSION WITH THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL
INSTITUTE

9 O'CLOCK A.M.

LARUE VAN HOOK

The Criticism of Photius on the Attic Orators (p. 41)

HENRY A. SANDERS

Greek Mss from Egypt in the possession of Mr. Charles L. Freer
(p. xxii)

GEORGE H. ALLEN

The So-called Praetorium in the Roman Legionary Camp at Lambaesis (p. xii)

II. MINUTES

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, December 27, 1907.

The Thirty-ninth Annual Meeting was called to order at 9.30 A.M. in Mandel Hall of the University of Chicago, by the President, Professor Francis W. Kelsey, of the University of Michigan.

The Secretary read the list of new members elected by the Executive Committee, as follows: ¹—

Prof. Herbert J. Barton, University of Illinois.
 Prof. Orma Fitch Butler, College for Women, Oxford, Ohio.
 Dr. Sereno Burton Clark, Western Reserve University.
 Prof. Norman W. DeWitt, Miami University.
 Prof. Joseph H. Drake, University of Michigan.
 Prof. William Prentiss Drew, Knox College.
 Prof. Frederick Carlos Eastman, Iowa State University.
 Dr. Philip H. Edwards, Baltimore City College.
 William Alexander Fleet, Princeton University.
 Prof. Charles H. Forbes, Phillips Andover Academy.
 John S. Galbraith, Williams College.
 Prof. J. B. Game, Normal School, Cape Girardeau, Mo.
 Dr. W. D. Gray, Smith College.
 Prof. Richard Mott Gummere, Haverford College.
 Prof. Austin Morris Harmon, Princeton University.
 Eugene A. Hecker, Sheffield, Mass.
 Prof. Helen Elisabeth Hoag, Mt. Holyoke College.
 Dr. Herbert Pierpont Houghton, Princeton University.
 Prof. Richard Wellington Husband, Dartmouth College.
 Horace L. Jones, Cornell University.
 Prof. Gordon F. Laing, University of Chicago.
 Prof. David Russell Lee, Central College, Mo.
 Prof. Donald Alexander MacRae, Princeton University.
 Prof. Charles M. Moss, University of Illinois.
 Prof. E. W. Murray, University of Kansas.
 Prof. Howard Murray, Halifax, N. S.
 Paul Nixon, Princeton University.
 Prof. Marbury B. Ogle, University of Vermont.
 Prof. Samuel Grant Oliphant, Olivet College.
 Ernest H. Riedel, Cornell University.
 George M. Sharrard, Cornell University.
 Rev. John Alfred Silsby, Shanghai, China.
 Prof. Charles N. Smiley, Iowa College.
 Dr. George R. Throop, Washington University, St. Louis.
 Prof. Wm. W. Troup, Westminster College, Pa.
 Harry Brown Van Deventer, Princeton University.

¹ Including several names later added by the Executive Committee.

The Secretary reported that the TRANSACTIONS and PROCEEDINGS, Volume xxxvii, had appeared in September, with such editorial changes in the PROCEEDINGS as had been ordered by vote of the Association at its last meeting. A list of certain American journals was read with which an exchange had been secured, or other arrangements made to insure regular notice of our publications, viz. : —

The Nation,
Journal of the American Oriental Society,
Publications of the Modern Language Association of America,
Classical Philology,
Modern Philology,
The Classical Journal.

Notice was given by the Secretary that by a vote of the Association at New Haven, in 1903 (xxxiv, xix), the question of approving the present method of electing officers on the nomination of a committee would come up for final action at the next annual meeting.

The Treasurer's report was accepted as follows : —

RECEIPTS		
Balance, December 27, 1906		\$656.08
Sales of Transactions	\$85.28	
Membership dues	1382.00	
Initiation fees	150.00	
Dividends	6.00	
Interest	31.86	
Philological Association of the Pacific Coast	160.00	
Offprints	20.60	
Total receipts to December 25, 1907		1835.74
		<u>\$2491.82</u>
EXPENDITURES		
Transactions and Proceedings (Vol. xxxvii)	\$1537.64	
Extra offprints (Vol. xxxvi)	7.25	
Platonic Lexicon	195.20	
Salary of Secretary	300.00	
Postage	50.78	
Printing and stationery	36.25	
Express75	
Press clippings	5.00	
Telegrams	1.60	
Parlor at Murray Hill Hotel for conference of February 9, 1907	5.00	
Total expenditures to December 25, 1907		\$2139.47
Balance, December 25, 1907		352.35
		<u>\$2491.82</u>

The Chair appointed as a Committee to audit the Treasurer's Accounts, Professors Elmer Truesdell Merrill and Campbell Bonner.

The Chair further appointed as a Committee on the Place of the Next Meeting, Professors Fitz-Hugh, Harold N. Fowler, and Baur.

The reading of papers was then begun.

When the name of Professor Minton Warren, of Harvard University, was reached upon the programme, the following resolutions offered by a Committee,¹ consisting of Professors Charles E. Bennett, Morris H. Morgan, and Kirby F. Smith, were read by Professor Platner and adopted by a rising vote : —

Resolved, That in the death of Professor Minton Warren, this Association desires to record its deep sense of an irreparable loss to classical scholarship and classical teaching. A pioneer in the field of systematic graduate instruction in this country, by his talents, his energy, and his devotion, he succeeded in organizing and maintaining courses whose aims and standards were those of the best European schools, and whose graduates to-day bear living witness to the soundness, vitality, and inspiration of his teaching.

A profound and diligent investigator, he was among the first to give reputation to American classical scholarship through his own published work, and in all his researches he set an example of thoroughness and accuracy which has been a model to others.

A member of this Association from its early days, he worked loyally and effectively for its success, and was honored by election to its highest office. Chosen one of the first directors of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome, he labored earnestly and successfully in perfecting its organization and in establishing its standards.

Chivalrous and unselfish, held in esteem and affection by colleagues and pupils alike, of a personality not less admirable for its strength than for its charm, of tireless devotion to the career to which his life was dedicated, he has left a tradition long to be cherished in the annals of American scholarship.

Resolved, That to Professor Warren's widow and family we extend in their bereavement our heartfelt sympathy; and that the Secretary be instructed to transmit to them a copy of these resolutions.

After the reading of papers, Professor H. Rushton Fairclough, of Leland Stanford University, President of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, who was called upon by the Chair, presented the greetings of the Pacific Branch, with suggestions prompted by a comparison of its meeting, which he had just attended, with the present session.

A brief reply was made by the President of the Association.

¹ Appointed by the President before the meeting.

JOINT SESSION WITH THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

Friday evening, December 27.

The Societies met in Mandel Hall at 8 P.M., Professor George F. Moore, of Harvard University, Vice-President of the Institute, presiding, in the absence of its President, Professor Thomas Day Seymour, of Yale University.

The members were welcomed by President Harry Pratt Judson, of the University of Chicago.

Professor Francis W. Kelsey, of the University of Michigan, President of the Association, delivered the annual address, his subject being *Is there a Science of Classical Philology?*

SECOND SESSION

Saturday afternoon, December 28.

The Association was called to order by the President, shortly after 2 o'clock.

The proposed new Constitution, and a report of the special Committee thereon, having been made the special order of this session, the Chair called upon Professor Elmer Truesdell Merrill, of Trinity College, who made a statement of his purpose in bringing forward the tentative Constitution which had been placed in the hands of the members.

In the general discussion Messrs. H. F. Allen, Platner, Fairclough, Kelsey, C. F. Smith, Humphreys, Dennison, C. H. Moore, Merrill, Shipley, Wilson, and Paton took part.

A motion to refer the matter to a committee of four, to report at the next annual meeting, was defeated.

A motion that the proposed Constitution be adopted was also lost.

The Committee on the Place of the Next Meeting, by its Chairman, Professor Fitz-Hugh, reported provisionally in favor of accepting the invitation of the University of Toronto.

Voted, To refer the question of the place of the next meeting to the Executive Committee, for decision after the meeting of the Council of the Institute.

On recommendation of the Committee on Nominations, as reported by Professor Platner, the following officers for the ensuing year were elected :

President, Professor Charles E. Bennett, Cornell University.

Vice-Presidents, Professor Paul Shorey, University of Chicago.

Professor John C. Rolfe, University of Pennsylvania.

Secretary and Treasurer, Professor Frank Gardner Moore, Dartmouth College.

Executive Committee, The above-named officers, and

Professor Thomas Fitz-Hugh, University of Virginia.

Professor Harold N. Fowler, Western Reserve University.

Professor Albert Granger Harkness, Brown University.

Professor Gonzalez Lodge, Columbia University.

Professor Clifford H. Moore, Harvard University.

The President subsequently named Professor Edward Capps, of Princeton University, as member of the Nominating Committee in place of Professor Samuel Hart, whose term had expired.

Professor Elmer Truesdell Merrill moved the following amendment to the Constitution, due notice having been given at the last annual meeting (xxxvii, xi f.).

Voted 1, That Amendment I to the Constitution of the American Philological Association be, and hereby is, repealed.

Voted 2, That Article II be, and hereby is, amended by adding as section 4 thereof the following: "An Assistant Secretary, and an Assistant Treasurer, may be elected at the first session of each annual meeting, on the nomination of the Secretary and the Treasurer respectively."

The Auditing Committee was permitted to present its report to the Executive Committee, in view of the fact that the last session was to be a joint meeting.¹

The Chair appointed the following Committee to draft resolutions of thanks, to be presented at the joint session of Monday morning: Professors J. Leverett Moore and Harry Langford Wilson.

During the latter part of this session Professor H. Rushton Fairclough, of Leland Stanford University, was invited to the chair, as President of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast.

On motion of Professor Slaughter the following resolution was adopted:—

Whereas, in at least one section of the country a movement has been set on foot to promote uniformity in the classical requirements for entrance to college;

¹ The Report of the Committee is as follows:

The Quadrangle Club, Dec. 30, 1907.

To the Executive Committee of the American Philological Association:

The Committee appointed to audit the accounts of the Treasurer of the American Philological Association for the past year hereby reports that it has duly examined said accounts, and finds them correct, and the credit balance of funds in hand as represented.

This report is made to the Executive Committee, in accordance with permission granted to the Auditing Committee by the Association at its meeting on Saturday, Dec. 28, 1907.

[Signed] ELMER TRUESDELL MERRILL, *Chairman*.

Resolved, That the American Philological Association express its sympathetic interest in the effort to bring about so desirable a result, and that it lend all aid in its power to secure the establishment of uniform college entrance requirements in the classics,

- (a) expressed in identical terms ;
- (b) providing variety by announcement of the texts prescribed for the next four or five years severally if practicable ;
- (c) securing greater freedom for the schools by increased emphasis upon translation at sight.

In addition to the above business the Association heard several papers at this session.

SECOND JOINT SESSION WITH THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

Saturday evening, December 28.

The Societies met in Mandel Hall at 8 P.M., Professor Francis W. Kelsey, of the University of Michigan, President of the Philological Association, presiding.

This session was given to the reading of papers.

THIRD JOINT SESSION WITH THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

Monday morning, December 30.

The Societies gathered in the Congregation Hall, Haskell Museum, under the presidency of Professor Frank B. Tarbell, of the University of Chicago, Vice-President of the Institute.

The session was devoted to the reading of papers.

On recommendation of the special Committee, Professors J. Levrett Moore and Wilson, the following resolution was adopted : —

Resolved, That the American Philological Association express to the President and authorities of the University of Chicago its appreciation of their courtesy in placing at its disposal the University buildings for this meeting ; to the members of the Local Committee its thanks for their thoughtful provision for its reception and entertainment ; to the Quadrangle Club for granting its members the privileges of its house ; and to the Directors of the Art Institute and Field Museum for the courtesies extended.

Resolved, That the Secretary be instructed to send to President Judson, to Professor Abbott, of the Local Committee, the Secretary of the Club and the Directors of the Museums, copies of this resolution.

Owing to the fact that this was a joint session, there was no formal vote of adjournment.

The next meeting of the Association will be held at Toronto, Ontario, December 29-31, 1908.

III. ABSTRACTS

I. The So-called Praetorium in the Roman Legionary Camp at Lambaesis, by Prof. George H. Allen, of the University of Cincinnati.

Before proceeding to the discussion of the main argument, it is necessary, for the sake of clearness in the use of terms, to classify the various kinds of fortified places or camps employed by the Romans. These are:—

I. Temporary camps, as described by Polybius and Hyginus, usually called simply *castra*.

II. Camps intended for occupation during a considerable period, such as Caesar's winter quarters in Gaul and the permanent legionary fortresses of the Empire. These forts are called *hiberna*.

III. Smaller permanent forts intended for cohorts and alae, called *castella*.

The evidence at hand for the *castra* is entirely of a literary character; our knowledge of the *castella* is based quite as exclusively upon the remains themselves. But for the *hiberna* we have both literary and archaeological data, although in limited quantities. It can be shown that the arrangement of the interior space in all these classes of camps follows the same general scheme, there being in all instances two principal roads, one of which, the *via principalis*, intersects the enclosure connecting two opposite sides, while the other, the *via praetoria*, starting at right angles with the first and at a point midway in its course, extends to one of the other faces; besides these, a space adjoining the *via principalis*, opposite the *via praetoria*, which was reserved for the administrative headquarters. The face of the enclosure reached by the *via praetoria* was always considered to be the front. In the permanent fortresses the central space was occupied by a building consisting of series of apartments grouped around one or two open courts.

In the *hiberna*, or legionary camp, at Lambaesis, a stone structure, rectangular in plan, consisting of four walls which present an imposing appearance from without, encloses a space 23.30 × 30.60 meters in extent, including a section of the *via principalis*, and the actual point where the two main roads would meet. This edifice has always been identified as the *praetorium*, or central administrative building (cf. Cagnat, *L'Armée romaine en Afrique*, 532).

Several considerations lead one to suspect the correctness of this current interpretation of the building, but the chief argument against it is based upon its location with respect to the main guiding lines for the allotment of the space in the camp, which were mentioned above. At all other places the central buildings stand back of the *via principalis*, abutting on it, but never projecting beyond its margin. Besides, some remains have been discovered at Lambaesis, at the rear of the so-called *praetorium*, in exactly the location where we should expect to find the central building. A comparison of these remains with those of the central buildings in the *hiberna* at Carnuntum and Novaesium, and in several of the *castella*, proves that they must have belonged to the so-called *atrium*, or main court of the central building with its portico and chambers. Accordingly the so-called *praetorium* under discussion, stands in front of and adjoining

the real central building. To discover its proper identity, we must investigate the manner of employment of the corresponding space in other forts.

The central portion of the *via principalis*, sometimes called *principia*, had always been the scene of public business, especially such as directly concerned the soldiers, holding assemblies, administering justice, executing penalties, etc. In about ten of the *castella* remains of halls are found occupying this site, which must have been erected for the convenient performance of these functions, and might also have been employed for military exercises in inclement weather. These buildings, in fact, must have been the *basilicae* mentioned by Vegetius.

The topographical relation of the so-called *praetorium* at Lambaesis to the remains at its rear, is the same as that of the *basilicae* to the *atria* and adjoining chambers of the central buildings in other forts. The remains back of the so-called *praetorium* at Lambaesis may be identified as the *atrium* of the central building. It is a reasonable conjecture, therefore, to assume that the so-called *praetorium* was really the *basilica*, or assembly hall, of the legionary fort at Lambaesis.

2. The Verbal in -*reo* in Polybius, by Prof. Hamilton Ford Allen, of the University of Illinois.

Polybius uses the verbal in -*reo* 153 times from 70 different verbs simple and compound. The verbal is formed on the stem as it appears in the first aorist passive, except in the case of 7 verbs, *ὑπομένω*, *ὑπομενέτον*, present stem (Curtius, *The Greek Verb*, London, 1880, 514); *οἶδα*, *ιστέον*, second aorist stem (Bishop, *A. J. P.* XX, 4); *φέρω*, *ἀνοιστέον*, *ἐποιστέον*, *ἐπανοιστέον*, future stem; *προσέχω*, *προσεκτέον*, present stem; *φημί*, *φατέον*, present stem (*ῥητέον*, first aorist passive stem).

Polybius uses the personal but once, *ὑποδεικτέος ἂν εἴη τῶπος*, iii, 36, 5, which Goetzeler (*De Polybi elocutione*, Würzburg, 1887, 29) would emend to *ὑποδεικτέον ἂν εἴη τὸν τῶπον*, while Hultsch (*Berl. Phil. Wochschr.*, 1887, 1142 s) would retain it.

As to the auxiliary verb, *ἐστὶ* is omitted 123 times and used 7 times (4 times in indirect questions, 3 times for emphasis), *εἴη* is used 6 times in indirect discourse, *ἂν εἴη* is used 12 times with potential force, *εἶναι* is used 4 times in indirect discourse, *ᾗ* is used once in the protasis of a past particular condition.

The agent is omitted 130 times. It is expressed by the dative of a personal pronoun 3 times to avoid ambiguity, of a noun 4 times, of a participle 6 times (8 participles, 7 of them with the article). It is never expressed by the accusative of a noun or pronoun, but 10 times by the accusative of a participle (7 times without the article, 3 times, 4 participles, with the article). *ἐστὶ* is always, 8 cases, omitted with the accusative agent. *εἶναι* is used twice in indirect discourse. The dative and accusative of the agent are never used together.

The negative is always *οὐ* or its compounds (50 times).

The verbal construction passes over into the infinitive but once, xviii, 13, 5.

Polybius uses many other means to express necessity, as *δεῖ*, *χρή*, *ἀναγκάζω*, *ἀνάγκη*, *ἀναγκαῖον*, *εἰκόσ*, *δίκαιον*, etc., the imperative, the optative. *δεῖ* is the form most frequently used.

Polybius does not, like Plato and Xenophon, heap up a dozen verbals one upon another, but uses all the various means at his command to vary his language and avoid the monotonous use of any one form.

3. Two Critical Notes : (1) on a Gloss in Suidas, (2) on Artemidorus ii, 25, by Prof. Campbell Bonner, of the University of Michigan.

In Suidas (Bernhardy, II, 1, 1234) the gloss *οφιόπους γυνή· έρπουσα* should have *εμπουσα* in place of the last word. In the passage from Artemidorus (p. 119, Hercher) for *δια τὸ φιλέρημον* read *διὰ τὸ φιλήρημον*.¹

4. The Aeschylean Element in Mrs. Browning's Writings, by Prof. Curtis C. Bushnell, of Syracuse University.

In Mrs. Browning's writings allusions to Aeschylus occur as follows :

Int. to first version of the *Prometheus Bound*, "Perhaps of all" ff.; *Letters and Essays with Memoir*, New York, 1877 (hereafter abbreviated as *L. and E.*), II, 120; *Ath.* 1842, 189, 252; *Letters of Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett*, New York, 1899 (hereafter abbreviated as *L. R.*) I, 35; *Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning*, New York, 1897 (hereafter abbreviated as *L. E.*) I, 49, 118, 119, 162, 175, 210; II, 126; *A Vision of Poets*, "Here Aeschylus" ff., "One his smooth" ff.; *Wine of Cyprus*, "Oh, our Aeschylus" ff.; *An Island*, "Or Aeschylus" ff.; *Aurora Leigh* I, "The tortoise shell" ff.; *ib.* v, "Weep, my Aeschylus" ff. (cf. *L. R.* I, 31); *Sonnet to Hugh Stuart Boyd*. *Legacies*; *Sounds*, initial quotation.

The influence of individual plays of Aeschylus is seen as follows :

Eumenides: *A Vision of Poets*, "Here Aeschylus" ff.; *Aurora Leigh* IV, "we would play" ff.; *L. R.* I, 537; *L. and E.* II, 57; *L. E.* I, 210.

Agamemnon: *Aurora Leigh* v, "dynastic stars" (*Ag.* 6); *Casa Guidi Windows* II, "We poets" ff. (*ib.* 3, 13, 139, 159, 280 ff., 1092), *L. and E.* II, 224-5 (*ib.* 33); *L. R.* I, 56, 60 (*ib.* 36); *Aurora Leigh* VIII, "You did not use" ff.; I, "dust the flaunty carpets" ff. (*ib.* 908 ff.); *Hector in the Garden οτοτοροου* (*ib.* 1072, 1076); *Wine of Cyprus*, "a mystic" ff. (*ib.* 1291, 1055, 1217 ff., 1185); *L. R.* I, 249 (*ib.* 1128-9, 1309-77).

Prometheus. This was a lifelong influence. Her first version (1833) made at the age of 24, as also its introduction, showed enthusiastic study. *The Seraphim* (1838) was influenced and indeed suggested by the *Prometheus* (Int. to first version). Similar influence is seen in *A Drama of Exile* (1844). Cf. especially its opening with the close of the *Prometheus*. In 1845 she completed the second version. We find allusions to the *Prometheus* in *Aurora Leigh*, published in 1856, five years before her death.

Other references are: *L. R.* I, 533 (*P. V.* I ff.); *Crowned and Buried*, "it was not well" ff. (*ib.* 120 ff., 1-81, 1021-5); *Aurora Leigh* II, "the golden stars" ff. (*ib.* 24); *Wine of Cyprus*, "And Prometheus" ff. (*ib.* 36-92, "passion" being a mistranslation of *οργή*, I. 80); *Aurora Leigh* v, "The waxen mask" ff.

¹ The discussion of the proposed emendations will be incorporated with the other matter in a paper which will appear in *Classical Philology*.

(*ib.* 1-87); *L. R.* 1, 87 (*ib.* 11); II, 499 (*ib.* 101-3); I, 312 (*ib.* 135); I, 130 (*ib.* 198); I, 35 (*ib.* 250, 251, 268); I, 30 (*ib.* 284-287); II, 45 (*ib.* 362); *Aurora Leigh* VII, "oppressed" ff. (*ib.* 363 ff.); *L. R.* 1, 15 (*ib.* 700 ff.); *Aurora Leigh* VII, "I, Aurora" ff., "When Jove's hand" ff. (*ib.* 640 ff., esp. 846-9); *L. R.* 1, 45; I, 75, with which cf. I, 31.

Mrs. Browning refers to the first version in *L. E.* 1, 16, 18, 21, 57, 65, 135, 244, 455; *L. and E.* 1, 128-130; *L. R.* 1, 31.

The following seems a just estimate of her second and final version of the *Prometheus*:

Though she takes considerable liberties with the thought and occasionally even mistranslates, though she is at times prolix, weak, rhetorical, where Aeschylus is concise, forceful, simple, yet she ordinarily recognizes those more subtle touches of the poet's art likely to elude an imperfect scholarship. Chiasmus (as in ll. 33, 193, etc.), to be sure, is never reproduced, but collocations of the same word, or of words containing the same root, are usually recognized (ll. 19, 333, 385, 671, 858). She usually recognizes the emphatic words (as ll. 234-5, 246, 502-3, 982) and links of connection (ll. 69, 70; 127, 128; 141, 145; 151, 152; 158, 160; 166, 170; 184, 185; 186, 187). Her language has a pictorial power truly Aeschylean (ll. 24, 133, 200, 219, 365, 455, 464, 573, 657, 667-8, 705-6, 789, 830, 910, 991, 1016-7, 1028-9, 1049-50), and the whole version has an Aeschylean vigor, boldness of imagination, sense of sublimity, and fulness of emotion. The ample endowment of her own genius with these qualities and the especial interest felt in this particular play by a nature sympathetic with all suffering were her supreme adaptations to her task as translator.

5. Rhythmic Alternation and Coincidence of Accent and Ictus in Latin Metric Art, by Prof. Thomas Fitz-Hugh, of the University of Virginia.

These results were announced to the American Philological Association at the Chicago meeting on December 30, 1907, and are being prepared for full publication:—

The Rhythmic Alternation and Coincidence of Accent and Ictus is the artistic motive of all Latin Metric Art, and the Procatalectic Accentual Foot is its artistic instrument. This great tonic modulator of Latin rhythm has three forms: $\acute{\cup}$, $\acute{\cup}$, $\acute{\cup}$. It is welcome everywhere, and obligatory between the catalectic ictus (final) and the acatalectic ictus (initial): between final \smile and initial $\acute{\cup}$. If we represent the procatalectic accentual ictus (\smile) by P, the acatalectic ictus ($\acute{\cup}$) by A, and the catalectic by C (final \smile), then our graphic formula of Latin rhythmic tone sequence in all ages (Saturnian and Hellenistic) will be PAPACP, in which the sequence of letters indicates all legitimate (that is trochaico-dactylic) tonic sequences. Thus Livius' first verse would have the formula: virum (P-C) mihi (P-C) Camena (P-A) insece (A-C) versutum (P-A). Accordingly CA is the unpardonable sin of Latin metric art. So Virgil's first line: arma (A) virumque (P-A) cano (P-C) Troiae (P-C) qui (P) primus (A) ah (weak tone) oris (A): no final catalectic ictus followed by an acatalectic ictus

except on the stepping-tone of the procatalectic accentual ictus: no C followed by A without the intervention of P.

In Saturnian art the catalectic accentual ictus (procatalectic foot) was as necessary after the final ictus in arsis before making the transition to the acatalectic ictus, as it was after the final ictus in thesis, because the Saturnian involved both a rhythm of accent and a rhythm of ictus, and the too sudden sequence of the acatalectic thesis upon the final ictus in arsis seemed to invert the native trochaic rhythm. This necessity vanished in the nature of the case when every thesis involved a strong ictus, and accordingly such seeming inversion would disappear under the auspices of the measured thesis of the Hellenizing art. Accordingly, Latin metric art of the first period was a rhythm of accent contrasted and harmonized with a rhythm of ictus through the good offices of the ictuo-accentual or procatalectic foot with the dominant initial tone; Latin metric art of the Hellenizing period became, by reason of the measured thesis, a rhythm of ictus contrasted and harmonized with a rhythm of accent through the same procatalectic foot with its now secondary accentual tone. The earlier art is that of the strong initial accent and the strong procatalectic foot, the later with measured quantities that of the weak initial accent and the weak procatalectic foot: earlier,

$\cup | \cup \cup |$ $\cup | \cup \cup$
 Camena; later, Camena.

Latin rhythmic art is an organic unfolding out of the prehistoric trochaico-

dactylic accentuo-ictual dipody: $\cup | \cup \cup |$ *sta berber*. By pancatalexis the dipody may represent the tetrapody: $\cup \cup \cup \cup$ *triumpe* five times repeated = five tetrapodies in the Arval Song. Quantities have nothing to do with the real native rhythm, except as marking distinctions of the light and heavy ictus, and consequently of the light and heavy accent. The quantitativo-ictual and -accentual contrasts are already clearly developed in the Arval Song, which furnishes all elemental types of dipody, tetrapody, and proto-Saturnian tetrameter, and the germinal beginnings of the rhythmopoeic procatalectic foot. The law of the procatalectic transfer from final ictus to acatalectic ictus is half developed. But the trochaic principle was indigenous from the beginning and to the end of Latin speech and verse: trochaico-acatalectic, -catalectic, and -procatalectic accentuo-ictual word-feet and verse-feet. Hence every Latin thesis is trochaic, and so no Latin thesis may begin on the

weak ictus (toneless short): Leo's $\cup \cup \cup$ *subiget* and $\cup \cup \cup$ *facile* are impossible even in Hellenizing art.

With Livius Andronicus the Law of the Light Accentual Foot after final ictual catalexis and before ictual acatalexis is fixed for all time, and Greek quantity introduced no new principle and abated no old one in Latin rhythmic art: it was merely an external structural refinement upon previous structural freedom. The accentuo-ictual formulae of the first lines of all poets from Andronicus to Claudianus will sufficiently verify the doctrine of the unchanged accentuo-ictual rhythm with its procatalectic accentual keynote for all Latin verse: Representing each word by its accentual symbol or brace of symbols (the weakly ictual by W), we find: Livius, *Odissia* CCP-A::A-CP-A; Naevius, *Bell. Pun.* CCP-A::A-CP-A; Ennius, *Ann.* APCC:P-AP-A; Plautus, *Amphitruo* PPPAA::A-A-C; Terence, *Andria* P-APPPW:AA-C; Lucilius, *Saturae* APC:P-AAA;

Lucretius, P-A-CCCC: P-AP-A; Catullus, *Carmina* PCCCP-A; Horace, *Carmina* P-A-CC:: AA-C; Vergil, *Aeneid* AP-ACC: PAWA. *Sed quid plura?* Claudianus, in *Rufinum* 1, ACCC: P-AA.

Accordingly, all Latin metric art is accentuo-ictual and trochaic and its keynote is the initio-accentual catalectic (procatalectic accentual) foot, representing the strongly accented thesis of Saturnian art, and the lightly accented thesis or arsis of measured (quantitative) Hellenizing art.

The application of the principles above deduced to the rhythmical interpretation of our literary and epigraphic monuments will follow the full publication. We shall then reëxamine the foundations of our current theory of the history of Latin metric art and of the beginnings of Romanic versification from the standpoint of the new principles, — the trochaic rhythm, the accentuo-ictual character, and the procatalectic foot, of Latin speech and verse. And finally, I shall inquire into the significance of my results with reference to Latin accent, word-ictus, and consequent word-structure.

6. The Accusative of Exclamation in Plautus and Terence, by Dr. Roy C. Flickinger, of Northwestern University.

In Plautus the accusative of exclamation is in a very plastic condition. It freely occurs either with or without interjections. Of those employed (*edepol*, *eu edepol*, *hercle*, *eu hercle*, *ecastor*, *o*, and *eugae*) none has the field to itself, but several are found with about the same frequency; *edepol* occurs most often. With interjections other than *o*, modifiers nearly always follow their nouns. When no interjection is used, there is a tendency for the modifiers to precede. With *o* the word order seems a matter of indifference.

Terence uses the construction nearly three times as frequently as Plautus, once in 99 verses to once in 281, and it has largely lost its plasticity. The other interjections have either disappeared or shrivelled into insignificance before the on sweep of *o*. The usage without an interjection is restricted to almost a single phrase, *me miserum* (with varying gender and word order), though in Plautus that was the largest category. *Heu* still maintains its ground, slight though it is, and is occasionally used with personal pronouns. It is noteworthy that in neither Plautus nor Terence is a personal pronoun ever found outside of these two categories, *i.e.* either without an interjection or with *heu*. In one respect the construction has become more elastic — the triumph of *o* naturally brought in its train an entirely free word order.

The paper will be published in the *American Journal of Philology*.

7. Apollo and the Python Myth, by Dr. George Depue Hadzsits, of the University of Pennsylvania.

This study undertook to analyze the genesis of the Apollo-Python tradition, and, starting with the premises out of which it grew, sought to prove that, previous to the establishment of Apollo's cult at Delphi, the affiliation of that divinity (worshipped in the South as well as in the North) was, of necessity, primarily with earth and sea.

8. The Use of εἰς, ποῖς, and ὅποις, by Prof. J. E. Harry, of the University of Cincinnati.

Commenting on Euripides, *Hippolytus* 1022, Weil warns us against rendering μέγας εἰς εἰμ' ἐγὼ by "un témoin pareil à moi"; but von Wilamowitz translates the verse "wenn für mich zeugen könnte ein Mann wie ich." Doubtless the clause admits of both interpretations. Homer says εἰδ' αἰὲς ἐσσι (N 275), Xenophon εἶδα εἰς ἦν (*Cyrop.* 4. 1), Lysias ἔσσι εἰς ἦσαν (13. 44), Demosthenes ἔσσι εἰς ἐθνηγόρους (21. 32), Plato εἶδα αἰὲς εἰς (*Meno* 92 C). Cp. *Menexenus* 249 D ἐγὼ ἐντετέχνηα Ἀσπασίᾳ καὶ εἶδα αἰὲς ἐσσι. There are three score of similar examples in the classical literature. Yet grammarians generally refuse to put εἰς in the category of interrogatives. Both the direct and indirect forms ποῖς and ὅποις are also used in indirect questions; but there are only one-third as many examples (with verbs of knowing) as of εἰς, e.g. Eur. *Med.* 377, *Hel.* 630, Hdt. 9. 13, Xen. *Cyrop.* 2. 2. 10, Lys. 2. 13, Dem. 50. 30. With σπουδῇ both εἰς and ὅποις are used. Only with verbs of asking do we find the interrogative form invariably. Cp. Dem. 46. 12, εἰ γὰρ τις ἔρωτο ὑμᾶς καθ' ὅποιους νόμους δεῖ πολιτεύεσθαι; Plato, *Rep.* 327 B, πυνθάνεσθαι . . . ποῖα τις ἐσσι; *Phileb.* 19 B ἐρωτῶν . . . ὅπως ἐσσι καὶ ὅποις; *Gorg.* 448 E, ἥρῳα ποῖα τις ἦν; Hdt. 7. 101, ὁκοῦν τι λέγεις. But observe ἐπιείθεσθαι τὰ θέλω (7. 101) and μὴ πτόθ' ὄσαι (7. 102).

In early Greek ὅποις is very rare—only one example in the *Iliad*—εἰς very common. Even ποῖς appears regularly only in stereotyped expressions. So in Hesiod and the lyric poets. In Aeschylus ὅποις occurs but three times; in Sophocles examples are more numerous; while in Euripides the form appears only eight times. Aristophanes uses ὅποις only four times (ποῖς 30). In Herodotus, on the other hand, καῖς is rare, ὅποις more frequent. His confusion of relatives and interrogatives, and his combinations of various forms in the same sentence are worthy of note, e.g. 2. 53; 2. 82. Thucydides uses ὅποις only four times, ποῖς not at all. In Xenophon there are fifteen examples of direct ποῖς, three indirect, whereas ὅποις is generally reserved for relative clauses. Not a single example of ὅποις is to be found in Andocides, Hyperides, and Dinarchus: only one in Aeschines and Lycurgus, and two in Isaeus. Lysias is more careful than his predecessors in discriminating between εἰς and ὅποις; but he is not so painstaking in this regard as Isocrates. In the stately, balanced style of Isocrates there are five times as many examples of the correlatives τοιοῦτος εἰς as in Lysias—only one in the reverse order, εἰς τοιοῦτος (3. 62). Demosthenes, the great questioner, employs ποῖς fifty times in direct questions alone. Like Xenophon, he prefers to reserve ὅποις for relative sentences. Plato naturally leads all writers in the number of examples of ποῖς.

The relative and interrogative ὅ τις has given commentators and grammarians almost as much trouble as εἰς. In the first sentence of Plato's *Apology* are we to treat ὅτι as an indirect τί (*quid*) or as a relative (*id quod*)? Cp. Lysias 7. 12. In Latin we sometimes find *dico quod sentio* for *dico quid sentiam*. So in Greek "what" may be either ὅ τις or ὅ (that is, τοῦτο ὅ). Cp. Ar. *Plutus* 349, λέγ' ἀνδρας ὅτι φῆς ποτε. But our manuals inform us that we must say εἰδ' ὅ τις, not εἶδα τί. That the interrogative form may be used after this verb is attested by Plato, *Rep.* 414 C οὐκ εἶδα ὅποις τόλμῃ ἢ τοῖς λόγους χρώμενος ἐρῶ. Cp. 400 A; Hdt. 6. 109 κῶς . . . ὁδὸν τέ ἐστι γινέσθαι καὶ κῶς ἐς σέ τοι τούτων ἀρῆκει . . .

νῦν ἔρχομαι φράσω. Our grammars also declare that *ὅς* (as well as *ὅλος*) is not used interrogatively. So Hadley-Allen: "*φράξουσιν ἃ λέγει* . . . Such clauses are not properly indirect questions." If this be true, we have a sentence in the first *Philippic* of Demosthenes (4. 33) which illustrates the ease with which the mobile Greek could shift from the relative to the interrogative idea without a moment's warning (somewhat akin to his wonted rapid change of subject or tense): *ἃ μὲν οὖν χρήσεται καὶ πότε τῇ δυνάμει* . . . *βουλευσεται*.

So far as interrogative functions are concerned, numerous passages could be cited to show that no sharp distinction is to be made in the use of *ὅλος*, *ποῖος* and *ὁποῖος*. Let one example of the constant ebb and flow between the relative and interrogative suffice: Plato, *Ion* 539 D-540 B, *ὅποια (ter)* . . . *ὅποια* . . . *ποῖα* . . . *ἃ* . . . *ὅποια (ter)* . . . *ὅποια* . . . *οἷα* . . . *ἃ* . . . *οἷα (ter)*.

Originally interrogative and indefinite pronouns are identical; and later the relative (springing from the same source) differentiates and adapts itself to a new function. So the paratactic demonstrative works back through the relative use to a semi-interrogative function. Cp. Hdt. 4. 131, *γυνῶναι τὰ θέλει τὰ δῶρα λέγειν*. In both ancient and modern languages the interrogative sometimes passes almost imperceptibly into the relative. Cp. the Spanish "No sabemos quién" with "El diario nos dirá quien lo ha ganado," distinguished by the written accent alone. So in Greek, *ὁποῖος* passes into *ὅλος*. This is not the case, to the same extent at least, with *ὅσος* and *ὁπόσος*. The reason apparently is that *ὅλος* (quality) lends itself more naturally to the intensive use than *ὅσος* (quantity); and from the exclamatory *ὅλον* developed an indirect interrogative *ὅλον*. Both, however, occur in Isocrates 6. 42, *τίς οὐκ οἶδεν ἐξ οἶων συμφορῶν εἰς ὅσην εὐδαιμονίαν Ἀθηναῖοι κατέστησαν*. Cp. Thuc. 3. 47. 1, *σκέψασθε ὅσον ἂν καὶ τοῦτο ἀμαρτάνοιτε Κλέωνι πειθόμενοι*.

Before the paper is published in full, an examination will be made of other relatives and interrogatives, such as *τίς* and *ὅς*, *πόσος* and *ὅσος*. Médéric Dufour has an article in *Revue de philologie* for 1890 (XIV, 57-60) on *ὅς*, *ὅλος*, *ὅσος*, but he does not, as Professor Humphreys has pointed out to me, distinguish between the intensive and simple indirect interrogative uses of *ὅλος* and *ὅσος*. His concluding statement is: "presque toujours le verbe principal est un verbe qui signifie *savoir, apprendre, considérer, montrer*, plus rarement un verbe signifiant *dire ou expliquer*, plus rarement encore à ce qu'il semble, un verbe signifiant *demander ou se demander*." My list is complete for *ὅλος*; but it is too long to publish here.

9. On the Interpretation of the First Antistrophe of the *Ajax* of Sophocles, by the same.

The paper discussed particularly the phrase *κλισίαις θυμ' ἔχων* (191). Scholars generally seem to think that *θυμῶν* both here and in Eur. *Hipp.* 246 signifies 'face.' Reiske conjectured *ἐμμένων*. Jebb declares that *ἔχων* could not stand for *ἐπέχων*. But compare Plato, *Theag.* 129 C *ἐπιτηρήσας ἀλλοσε τὸν νοῦν ἔχοντα*; *Gorg.* 504 D; *Crit.* 109 E; π 179, *ἐτέρωσε βάλ' ὀφθαλμοὺς*; Soph. *Tr.* 272; Cratinus, *Pytine*, *πρὸς ἐτέραν γυναῖκα ἔχων τὸν νοῦν*; Eur. *I. T.* 372, *I. A.* 994, *Ion* 251, *Or.* 1181, 1418; Xen. *de Venat.* 25.

Ajax has turned his eye ὡδ' ὀφθαλμοῖς κλισίαις. The mariners entreat him to

come forth. They do not want him to have his whole heart centred ὦδε at the tent ἐφ' ἧς, when it should be turned ὦδε (196) in the open plain. They are powerless without his assistance. κλισίας is locative, but indefinite — whether Ajax is *in* the tent or *outside* is not specified — οὐρου ποτέ, as the sailors themselves say in the next sentence. The sire here, as later the son (984), is μένος παρὰ σκηναίων.

This paper will be printed in full in the *Classical Review*.

10. Is there a Science of Classical Philology? by Prof. Francis W. Kelsey, University of Michigan.

The speaker traced in brief outline the history of Classical Philology as a science from the time of F. A. Wolf to the present, subjecting to criticism various definitions and divisions of the subject. His conclusion was that no satisfactory basis for a scientific treatment of Classical Philology can be found except in the investigation and elucidation of the Graeco-Roman civilization as a whole.

The paper will be published in *Classical Philology*.

11. Aramaic Papyri recently found at Assuan, by Prof. George F. Moore, of Harvard University.

Aramaic papyri lately found at Assuan show that there was a Jewish community at Syene and on the neighboring island of Elephantine in the fifth century B.C. These Jews, who were apparently in considerable numbers, belonged, at least in part, to a military colony established there by the Persians as a frontier garrison. The Jewish settlement was, however, older than the Persian conquest; its temple had been built under the native Egyptian kings. This evidence confirms the references in the prophets to Jewish communities in Upper Egypt (Jer. 44; Isa. 11:11; perhaps Isa. 49:12). The author of the Epistle of Aristaeas speaks incidentally of numbers of Jews who came into Egypt with Cambyases, and others who at an earlier time had fought in the Nubian campaign of Psammetichus, about 590 B.C.

The papyri first found are legal instruments, dealing with the transfer of real estate, dower and marriage settlements, the division of inheritance, settlement of law-suits, and the like, and come from a single family in three generations, between 470 and 410 B.C. They are drawn up by professional scribes or notaries in set legal phraseology, and are exactly dated by the years of the reigning Persian king, the month and day being given according to both the Syrian and Egyptian calendars.

More recent discoveries by the German explorers include two copies (one intact, the other mutilated) of a petition, dated in 408 B.C., from the priests and the community of the Jews in Elephantine to Bagohi (Bagoas), the Persian governor of Judaea, asking him to use his influence with the satrap of Egypt to get them permission to rebuild their temple in Elephantine, which, three years before, during the satrap's absence from Egypt, had been destroyed by the Persian governor in Elephantine, at the instigation of the Egyptian priests of the

god Chnum, and its treasures plundered. From the description of the temple it appears that it was a building of some pretensions, [the court] having five portals of cut stone, and [the naos] being roofed with cedar.

The petitioners recite that they had previously appealed both to Bagoas and to Johanan, the high priest in Jerusalem, and his colleagues, but received no reply. They inform Bagoas that they are now writing also to Delaiah and Shelemiah, sons of Sanballat, the governor of Samaria. Sanballat is known to us as the adversary of Nehemiah; Bagoas (Bagoses) and Johanan, from Josephus (*Antt.* xi, 7); the persons named in the petition thus belong to the generation after Nehemiah. A third papyrus contains a minute or protocol of the answer of Bagoas and Delaiah to the petition, asking Arsames, the satrap of Egypt, to permit the rebuilding of the temple at Elephantine and the reëstablishment of sacrifice. It is hardly probable that the temple was restored at this time, for before the end of the year the rule of the Persians in Egypt was brought to an end, and it was more than half a century before they were able to reassert their authority.

That the Jews in Elephantine had a temple of their own, with a priesthood and regular sacrifices — "oblations, incense, and burnt offerings" — is of considerable moment, in view of the common assumption that in that age Jerusalem was regarded as the only place of legitimate sacrifice. The name of the God of the Jews is written both in the deeds and in the petition, *Jahu* or *Jaho*, a regular reduction of the form *Jahveh* found in the Bible. The Jews of Elephantine seem to have made no scruple of pronouncing this name; they take an oath in court by *Jaho* in a process with a foreigner. The Greeks, who write the name of the God of the Jews *Idw*, doubtless heard it in this form, *Jaho*.

12. Two Notes in Classical Mythology, by Prof. Wilfred P. Mustard, of Johns Hopkins University.

(a) Siren-Mermaid. A study of the literary tradition as to the form of the Sirens, especially the mediaeval shift of conception by which they changed from creatures part-woman part-bird to creatures half-woman half-fish.

This note has been printed in full in *Modern Language Notes* for January, 1908.

(b) Pegasus as the Poet's Steed. Until some one gives us a definite reference to canto and verse, we may be sceptical as to the traditional statement that this fancy occurs first in Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato*, about 1490. As a temporary substitute, we may quote it from a Spanish poem of the year 1497, Juan del Enzina's *Tragedia trovada á la dolorosa muerte del príncipe Don Juan*:

"Despierta, despierta tus fuerzas, Pegaso,
Tú que llevabas á Belerofonte;
Llévame á ver aquel alto monte,
Muéstrame el agua mejor del Parnaso," etc.

See *Modern Language Notes* for January, 1908.

13. Greek Mss from Egypt, in the possession of Mr. Charles L. Freer, by Prof. Henry A. Sanders, of the University of Michigan.

The Mss are four in number and were bought by Mr. Charles L. Freer of Detroit, early in 1907, of a dealer named Ali Arabi, near Cairo, Egypt. The Mss were said to have come from Akhmim, Upper Egypt. They seem to have formed parts of one Bible, and so for convenience are referred to by the Roman numerals I to IV.

Ms I is on parchment, written in a large, upright, well rounded uncial hand in the fifth century. At present it contains Deuteronomy and Joshua entire on 108 leaves. The quire numbers show that 36 quires are missing at the beginning. These contained Genesis to Numbers inclusive. The text is exceptionally good, as we would expect from the age of the Mss.

Ms II is on parchment, written in round upright uncials, and is much decayed. It seems to be the oldest Ms in the collection and was probably written in the fourth century. It once contained 151 Psalms and at least one Canticle. About 90 leaves will prove separable and legible in part at least. The text is exceptionally accurate.

Ms III is on parchment written in small slightly sloping uncials of the fifth or sixth century. It contains the four gospels entire. The covers adorned with the pictures of the four Apostles are preserved. The text is rather inaccurate, but contains many good special variants. It is especially noteworthy, because it contains several extra verses after Mark, 16. 14.

Ms IV is a badly decayed fragment of a parchment Ms of the Epistles of Paul, written in small upright uncials in the fifth century. It probably once contained Acts and the Catholic Epistles, but not Revelation. About 100 short fragments from the latter half of the Epistles of Paul will be legible. The text is very accurate and free from interpolations. This paper, divided into two articles, has appeared in the *Biblical World*, XXXI, 138, and in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, XII, 49.

14. The Greeks and Suicide, by Prof. W. S. Scarborough, of Wilberforce University.

Ὁδ φασι θεμτόν εἶναι αὐτὸν εἰντὸν ἀποκτινύναι. — Plato's *Phaedo*, 61 E.

The significance of this passage depends wholly upon the meaning that is given θεμτόν. Like *fas*, θέμς may express a duty or obligation from a moral point of view — a religious act, e.g. *Od.* xiv, 56, ὁδ μοι θέμς ἔσται, κ.τ.λ. — 'It is not right for me to dishonor a stranger' (ξεῖνον). It is frequently used with this meaning in Homer. But θέμς (√θε, τλθμη) like θέσμος (Dor. τεθμός) in its etymological sense refers to an established rule or law — that which is laid down — human or divine. Ancient usage, however, has given it a fixed meaning. It has put upon it a divine seal — the sanction of the gods. In this sense it seems to have been generally employed by Greek writers. Cf. Plat., Xen., Aesch., Soph., Eurip., Pind., Hdt., Dem., etc., etc.; Cicero and Virgil (the fate of Dido).

When Plato therefore represented Cebes as saying, ὁδ φασι θεμτόν, κ.τ.λ., he evidently meant that it was not the will of the gods — of the Greek deities —

that one should take his own life — that it was not in keeping with the theology of the Greeks to do so. Inasmuch as suicide was a violation of divine law, it goes without saying that it was contrary to human law.

Pythagoras, to whom both Greek and Roman writers made copious references and whom they regarded an authority on this subject, took a decided stand against self-destruction. Plato himself drew largely from the philosophy of Pythagoras and accommodated much of it, as he did that of his revered master, Socrates, to his own system and life.

In reply to Cebes Socrates is represented as quoting from Pythagoras: *ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐν ἀπορρήτοις λεγόμενος περὶ αὐτῶν λόγος*, κ.τ.λ. vide *Phaedo*, 62 B. In the *de Senectute*, 73, Cicero says: *Vetatque Pythagoras iniussu imperatoris, id est dei, de praesidio et statione vitae decedere*. Cf. *T. D.* i, 74: *injussu suo*. Rather than submit to Caesar, M. Porcius Cato took his own life.

During the days of the Empire there was so little regard for life that it was a common occurrence — perfectly in keeping with dignified conduct — for one to take his own life to free himself from troubles. During the days of the Republic it was different. The strenuous Roman was otherwise occupied and suicides were fewer.

The drift of public sentiment, even in the earlier days of Greek life, was against *αὐτοκτονία* (*αὐτοφονία*); cf. *Aesch. Eum.* 336.

15. The Force of Sigmatism in Homer, by Prof. John Adams Scott, of Northwestern University. ,

In the quarrel scene in *Iliad*, A 179 f., Agamemnon, in anger, replies to Achilles' threat to return to Phthia: —

οἰκάδ' ἰὼν σὺν νηυσὶ τε σῆς καὶ σοῖς ἐτάροισιν
Μυρμιδόνεσσιν ἀνασσε' σέθεν δ' ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀλεγίζω.

On this passage various editors, as Sterrett, Ameis-Hentze, and others, call attention to the passionate, angry tone given by the repetition of sigma. A similar comment is repeatedly found in editions of Euripides, *Medea*, to 476.

Eustathius often refers to the angry tone of sigma, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus makes this observation, *de Com. Verb.* 100: "Sigma is harsh and displeasing, and if many times repeated sorely offends, as it seems rather the utterance of an unreasoning animal, than that of a logical human being." Thus the comments to Homer and Euripides are only applications of a well-established rule. In the passage from *Iliad* A, quoted above, there are seven sigmas in one line and five in the other, or twelve in all. Homer has about three hundred passages of as marked or more marked sigmatism as this. A detailed investigation of so many verses would be too lengthy for this paper, so attention is confined to those which have eight or more sigmas in a single verse, as the more sigmas any verse has, the more pronounced the sigmatism should be, and the clearer the tone. Homer has about seventy verses with eight or more sigmas. These verses are, almost without exception, found in scenes of gentleness, tenderness, or calm. When the shipwrecked Odysseus meets Nausicaa, he risked all on making a good impression with his language, as all other means were gone; yet his opening words abound in sigmas, and later, in the same speech to her,

when he is most flattering he is most sigmatic. If sigma were "harsh and disagreeable," Odysseus would not have used it so freely then. When Menelaus bids farewell to Telemachus in ο 111 f. the verses abound with sigmas. The single verse in the *Odyssey* with most sigmas is κ 45, ὅσσοι τις χρυσὸς τε καὶ ἀργυρὸς ἀσκήϊνεται.

The two consecutive verses with most sigmas are, δ 844-5:—

ἔστι δὲ τις νῆσος μέσση ἀλλ' πετρήσσα
μεσσηγὺς Ἰθάκης τε Σάμοιό τε παιπαλοέσσης.

Nothing could be more free from passion than this passage. Not only are the verses where sigmas most abound calm and quiet, but where anger is most clear there are very few sigmas. The verse following such a phrase as "He spake in anger," is always quite or nearly asigmatic.

The first verse in the *Iliad* with eight or more sigmas is A 83, where the priest, in confidence, turns to Achilles and says—

ἐν στήθεσιν ἑοῖσι, σὺ δὲ φράσαι, εἰ με σώσεις.

The last pronounced example of sigmatism in the *Iliad* is Ω 771 f. Helen joins in the dirge for Hector, lamenting his loving-kindness and tenderness. Not only is sigma most frequent in scenes of tenderness and quiet, but in words of harshness, anger, or passion, sigma is very rare, e.g. κύον, κακοί, ἀμήχανε, and a score of others. Not only do individual words of extreme anger rarely have sigma, but whole verses of the most violent passion are asigmatic, e.g. A 149, Z 326, A 385, Ξ 479, but above all Achilles' words to Hector in X 345 and 365. The only conclusion from both negative and positive proof is that the prevailing theory is wrong, and that as the passion rises the sigmas drop.

The theory had its origin in the fact that Plato (Comicus) and Eubulus made a joke on a verse of anger, *Medea* 476, and because that one verse was a verse of passion, it was taken as the norm, whereas in dramatic poetry, as in epic, it is only the exception that scenes of anger are markedly sigmatic. The most tender verses in tragedy are fullest of sigmas.

The mistake is due to the fact that a poor joke was regarded as a piece of genuine criticism.

16. The Historical and the Legendary in Herodotus' Account of the Accession of Darius, iii, 27-88, by Prof. Herbert Cushing Tolman, of Vanderbilt University.

A. Legendary.

(1) Slaying of the Apis bull and consequent madness of Cambyses (27-30).

Inscriptional evidence points against any such act of intolerance. The Nabû-na'id Annals (rev. iii. 25) represent Cambyses (*kaⁿbûjiya*, *kaⁿbû + jiya*, "mit Sehnen aus"—? Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wb.* 611) as a worshipper in the Babylonian temple of Ê-šapa-kalama-summu, while an Egyptian inscription (preserved in the Vatican) expressly states that, as conqueror of Egypt, he assumed all the ceremonial responsibility of the Pharaohs, bringing gifts to the inner shrine of Osiris, and entering into the mysteries of Neith. The temple of

the latter at Sais, which the soldiers had profaned, is cleansed by his orders (Justi, *Geschichte des alten Persiens*, 40). In fact, we cannot doubt that Cambyzes showed the same religious diplomacy that marked the broad policy of Cyrus (Tolman and Stevenson, *Herodotus and Empires of the East*, 93).

(2) The date of the Smerdis murder (30, 65-66).

According to Hdt. Cambyzes, influenced by a warning vision, commissioned Prexaspes to slay Smerdis, who had accompanied his brother on the Egyptian expedition, and had been sent home on a pretext. All this contradicts the narrative in the Behistan inscription, which puts the murder before the Egyptian campaign. Bh. I. 10, *ka^{nb}[ájiya a]vam bardíyam avdja*, "Cambyzes slew Smerdis"; *pasáva ka^{nb}ájiya mudráyam [ásiy]ava*, "after (this murder) Cambyzes went to Egypt."

(3) The name of the pretender (61-66).

The popular version, followed by Hdt., which designated the conspirator by the name "Smerdis," was doubtless based on a *vaticinium post eventum*, showing an ambiguity in the oracular vision as well as a personal negligence in Cambyzes' failure to fathom its true meaning. The rebel's real name, Gaumáta (*gava-máta*?) is preserved in the Bh. inscription. Bh. I. 13, *aita xšaθ'am tya gaumáta hya maguš adinā ka^{nb}ájiyam*, "the kingdom which Gaumáta the Magian took from Cambyzes," *et passim*.

(4) The Magian's policy of reconciliation (67).

No corroboration of this is found in the inscriptions. On the other hand, Darius plainly declares that the usurper was dreaded by the state in consequence of his tyrannical acts. Bh. I. 13, *ha^{uv} dyasatā* (Bartholomae, *BB*, XIV, 246) *uvdipašiyam akultā*, "he assumed (the power) and made it his own possession" (Elamite, *emituša tuman-e*, "he seized as his possession"; Babylonian, . . . *ti-a-na ša ra-ma-ni šu ut-te-ir*, "he took it for himself." Cf. Tolman, *VUS*, I, 9). Bh. I. 13, *kārašim hacā daršma* (Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wb.* 100) *tarsa. kāram vasiy avdžaniyā*, "the people feared his tyranny; (they feared) he would utterly crush the people." Furthermore, Darius records (Bh. I. 14) his restoration of the desecrated sanctuaries (*dyadand*, Elamite *ANziyan ANnappanna*, Babylonian, *bitāti ša ilāni*), the waste pastures (? *abičariš*), the squandered personal property (? *gaiḥam*, Gray, *AJP*, XXI, 16), the ruined estates (? *māniyam*, Foy, *ZDMG*, LIV, 346), and the royal residences (? Tolman, *VUS*, I, 11; *leg. vā θa bā isād*, Jackson, *JAOs*, XXIV, 85; King and Thompson, *Inscr. of Bh.*, 14) of which Gaumáta had deprived the people.

(5) The prominence of Otanes (67-71).

Again, Hdt. has followed a false tradition in representing Otanes as taking the initiative in crushing the usurper. Darius states that he was the first who dared in word or deed to take active measures against the rebel. Bh. I. 13, *kašēiy naiy adaršnauš ēišēiy θastanaⁱy pari^y Gaumátam tyam magum yátā adam arasam*, "no one dared to speak against Gaumáta the Magian until I came."

(6) The place of the μαγοφβια (71-9).

The Bh. inscription shows that the attack on the pretender was not in the palace of Susa, as given by Hdt. (cf. Ktes. Exc. 14; Justin. I. 9, 14; Polyæn. vii. 11, 12), but in open battle in Media, where the rebel is defeated and slain. Bh. I. 13. *sika[ya]uvatiš námā didā nisāya námā dahyauš mádaⁱy avadāšim avdžanam*, "at the stronghold Sikayauvati, in the province of Nisaya in Media,

there I smote him." The date of this conflict was on the tenth day of the Persian month *Bāgaydday* (*baga* + *yāda*, "month of divine worship," Bh. I. 13). The Ptolemaic canon puts 521 as the first year of the reign of Darius. E. Meyer (*Forsch. z. alt. Gesch.* II, 448) has shown that the first year of a king was reckoned from the New Year following his accession. The Babylonian documents (Strassmeier, *Ztschr. f. Assyriol.* IV, 123) seem to indicate that this Persian month fell in the autumn of this year (*ZDMG*, LII, 259), and not the spring (Nöldeke, *Aufsätze z. pers. Gesch.* 30).

(7) Darius' accession to the throne (85-87).

The deliberation of the allies as to the future form of government and the stratagem of the groom of Darius seem to be colored by political tradition (cf. Schöll, *Die Anfänge einer politischen Litteratur bei den Griechen*, 11) and marking divine preferment. Darius (*dārayavahav*, Iran. *dārajaṭ yahan*, "possessing wealth") really takes the throne by virtue of his kinship to Cambyses (who died childless) through their common ancestor Teispes (Bh. I. 2; Cyrus Cylinder, 20). Thus the king can truly say in his inscription: "Eight of my family have been kings. I am the ninth" (Bh. I. 5, VIII *mañd taumā[yā tyai]y [pa]ruvam xšāyathiyā dha. adam navama*); "long aforetime we were kings" (*duvidā paranam [vayam] xšāyathiyā amaky*; cf. Tolman, *VUS*, I, 6).

B. Historical.

Amid the web of tradition which Hdt. has woven into his narrative we recognize at least a historical germ which is confirmed by contemporaneous documents.

(1) The murder of Smerdis. Bh. I. 11; cf. *A.* 2.

(2) The usurpation of the kingly power by the Magian Gaumāta. Bh. I. 11-13; cf. *A.* 3.

(3) The restoration of the throne to the royal house of the Achaemenidae. Bh. I. 14-15; cf. *A.* 6.

(4) The names of the allies of Darius.

Close agreement is found in the inscriptional enumeration. Ktesias (Exc. 14) evidently gives in several places the name of the son for that of the father (Marquardt, *Philol. Suppl.* VI, 622). With the single exception of *Ἀσπαθίρης* (*aspaθunah*, *aspa* + *θunah*, "desirous of horses"), who is not mentioned in the Behistan list (IV, 68), but appears in the Naks-i-Rustem Inscription (Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wb.* 217), Hdt. gives an absolutely correct transmission: *Ἰτραφέρνης* (*viṇḍafurnah*, *viṇḍa* + *furnah*, "achieving glory." Cf. Ktes. *Ἀραφέρνης*, Aesch. *Pers.* *Ἀραφέρνης*; *Ἰράνης* (*utāna*, *u* + *tāna*, "rich in progeny"? Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, 513); *Γαυβρῆς* (*gaubruva*, etym.? Cf. Foy, *ZDMG*, LIV, 360); *Ἰδάρνης* (*vidarna*, etym.? Cf. Skt. *vi-dirṇa*, Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wb.* 1443); *Μεγάθυξος* (*bagabuxša*, *baga* + *buxša*, "freed of God"). In place of *Ἀσπαθίρης* the Bh. adds *ardumaniš* (*ardu* + *maniš*, "right minded").

PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST

I. PROGRAMME

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 20

FIRST SESSION, 2 O'CLOCK

G. R. NOYES

The Motto of Anna Karénin

C. B. BRADLEY

- (1) On Certain Determinatives of Direction in Siamese (p. xxxi)
- (2) Indications of a Consonant-Shift in Siamese since the Introduction of Alphabetical Writing (p. 19)

F. WINTHER

Carlyle and the German Classics (p. xli)

O. M. JOHNSTON

Use of *lai* in the sense of *lamenti* in Italian Poetry (p. xxxix)

R. DUPOUEY

Two XIV Century Treatises on the Education of Women (p. xxxiii)

SECOND SESSION, 8 O'CLOCK

H. R. FAIRCLOUGH

Virgil (p. xxxiv)

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 21

THIRD SESSION, 9.30 O'CLOCK

E. W. MARTIN

Ruscinia (p. 31)

A. OLIVER

Ni-Clauses in Virgil (p. xl)

B. O. FOSTER

Notes on the Text of Propertius

J. E. CHURCH, JR.

The Identity of the Child in Vergil's *Pollio* (p. xxxii)

J. ELMORE

- (1) The Episode of the Delphic Oracle in Plato's *Apology* (p. xxxiii)
- (2) Notes on the Interpretation of Tacitus, *Agricola*, 30 (*sinus famae*) and Juvenal, *Sat.* I, 144 (*intestata senectus*)

J. FRYER

The Romance of the Three Kingdoms, the Great Historical Novel of China

FOURTH SESSION, 2.40 O'CLOCK

M. E. DEUTSCH

The Reading of Propertius, ii, 28, 54 (p. xxxii)

W. D. ARMES

Poe and Plagiarism — Theory and Practice (p. xxxi)

H. C. NUTTING

Note on Cicero, *pro Sulla*, 52 (*nocte ea . . . Nonarum Nov.*)
(p. xxxix)

A. T. MURRAY

Theocritus' Treatment of the Daphnis Story (p. xxxix)

H. R. FAIRCLOUGH

Notes on the *Aeneid* (p. xxxvi)

II. MINUTES

The Ninth Annual Meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast was held at the Leland Stanford Jr. University, on December 20 and 21, 1907.

FIRST SESSION

The meeting was called to order at 2.15 P.M. by the President, Professor H. R. Fairclough. In the absence of Professor L. J. Richardson, the regular secretary, Professor J. E. Matzke was appointed secretary *pro tem*. The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved. The following Treasurer's report was read and accepted:—

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand December 26, 1906	\$ 7.06	
Dues and initiation fees	205.00	
	<hr/>	\$ 212.06

EXPENDITURES

Sent to Professor Moore (June 11, 1907)	\$ 160.00	
Stationery and postage	7.35	
Printing	17.95	
Clerk hire, etc.	1.90	
	<hr/>	\$ 187.20
Balance on hand December 20, 1907	24.86	
	<hr/>	\$ 212.06

The Chair appointed the following committees:—

Nomination of Officers: Professors Noyes, Foster, and Rev. Mr. Brewer.

Time and Place of Next Meeting: Professors Matzke, Schilling, and Church.

Treasurer's Report: Professors Skinner, Seward, and Martin.

Change of Constitution: Professors Murray, Bradley, and Elmore.

SECOND SESSION

At 8 P.M. the members of the Association and their friends met in the University chapel to listen to the address of the President.

THIRD SESSION

The Committee on Nomination of Officers reported as follows : —

President, H. K. Schilling.

Vice-Presidents, J. E. Matzke.

C. B. Bradley.

Secretary-Treasurer, L. J. Richardson.

Executive Committee, The above-named officers, and

G. Hempl.

J. E. Church, Jr.

F. O. Mower.

H. W. Prescott.

Election then took place in accordance with the report.

Reports were then made by the Committee on Time and Place of the Next Meeting, and the Committee on Change of Constitution. Both adopted.

FOURTH SESSION

The Committee on Treasurer's Report gave notice that the accounts had been examined and found exact. Adopted. A vote of thanks was extended to those concerned in the entertainment of the Association.

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

At a meeting of the Executive Committee held Saturday afternoon, Mr. John Joseph van Nostrand, Jr. and Dr. F. Winther were elected to membership in the Association.

JOHN E. MATZKE,
Secretary *pro tem*.

III. ABSTRACTS

1. Poe and Plagiarism — Theory and Practice, by Professor W. D. Armes, of the University of California.

The purpose of the paper was to show whether Poe's severe criticisms of Longfellow and Aldrich because of passages in their poems that seemed to him reminiscent of the work of others really sprang from a scorn of all imitation and an abhorrence of the slightest taint of plagiarism; or whether his opponents were right in asserting that he was actuated by no nobler motives than desire for notoriety and envy of a more popular writer.

Four of Poe's stories were analyzed, and the varying degrees of their indebtedness to the writings of previous authors shown. The Masque of the Red Death is based on incidents in Harrison Ainsworth's Old St. Paul's and Disraeli's Vivian Grey; but the use made of them is perfectly legitimate and the result a tale of striking originality, "the briefest of masterpieces." So too, though Metzengerstein is based on an incident in Disraeli's novel, that incident furnished hardly more than the suggestion for the tale.

But with King Pest the case is different. It is little more than a retelling of an incident in Vivian Grey with a change of setting, costumes, and properties; plot, situations, details, and even phrases are "conveyed" from Disraeli; the invention shown by Poe is of the slightest; the originality is practically *nil*.

In A Tale of the Ragged Mountains the experience of Bedloe is an even more audacious piece of plagiarism. Save for two or three details, that show Poe's ignorance of Indian life and architecture, it is but a patchwork from the two paragraphs in Macaulay's Warren Hastings that describe Benares and picture "all India" as it was seen by the mental eye of Burke. The "deadly parallel" shows that Poe merely selected, rearranged, and slightly modified; "tying on a new tail at the end of the old one, and painting them both sky-blue," as he himself states, in discussing a similar case that he pointed out, is the method "the educated thief" uses "to disguise his stolen horse."

For resemblances much less marked than those that have been shown, Poe again and again called Longfellow a "plagiarist" and a "thief." The conclusion from the foregoing examination is inevitable: the character that Poe attributed to himself in what he termed "the little Longfellow war," that of "a man with a soul that bids him come out from among the general corruption of our public press, and take his stand upon the open ground of rectitude and honor," was not his true one. Like so much else in his life, it was a mere pose. The much-maligned Griswold was right when he asserted, "his criticisms were guided by no sense of duty."

2. On Certain Determinatives of Direction in Siamese, by Professor Cornelius Beach Bradley, of the University of California.

To define direction of motion expressed by a verb, the Siamese does not use adverbial determinatives, whether separate, like our own *up, down; in, out*; or prefixed, like Latin *ad, ab; in, ex*. Instead it adds to the main verb of concrete

motion, like our *walk, climb, run, fly*, another verb of abstract motion—that is, motion not distinguished as to its kind, but only as referred to a point of origin in space, or to an ordinate of some kind. Since such motion may be in either direction, positive or negative, these determinative verbs stand in antithetical pairs, just as do our adverbs instanced above. As European languages generally have taken certain verbs, originally independent,—and still capable of being so used,—like our *did* or *shall*, and have made them mere determinants of the time-aspects of action expressed by other verbs, so the Siamese makes of these verbs determinants of the spatial aspects of motion expressed by other verbs. The linguistic device thus seems a sort of space-conjugation by auxiliaries, as the other is a time-conjugation.

The most general of these pairs of auxiliaries are the words answering in general to our own *go, come*, defining the motion as along any of the radii of the sphere of space whose centre is the speaker. Next is the pair answering to our *ascend, descend*, referring motion to the horizontal plane as datum. And, lastly, a pair defining motion as *into* or *out of* an assumed area or enclosed space.

The Chinese has this idiom in almost precisely the same form and detail; and this fact is one of many which point to the close relationship between the two languages.

3. The Identity of the Child in Vergil's Pollio, by Professor J. E. Church, Jr., of the University of Nevada.

1. The poem a prophecy of peace, the Messiah a real child.

2. This child the expected son of Octavian.

(a) The general continuity of Vergil's devotion to the house of Caesar, the only house elsewhere deified by him and made to usher in the Golden Age.

(b) By the peace of Brundisium, Octavian the controlling power in Italy.

(c) The marriage of Octavian probably political, the issue a matter of significance for the state.

(d) The poem one of expectation, not of realization; otherwise why the awkward situation created by representing the babe as still unborn?

(e) No need to destroy the poem because the expectation was thwarted by the birth of a girl.

(f) Gallus' claim probably based upon the language of the Pollio.

This paper will appear in full in *University of Nevada Studies*, I, July, 1908.

4. The Reading of Propertius, ii, 28, 54, by Mr. Monroe E. Deutsch, of the University of California.

et quot Troia tulit vetus et quot Achaia formas,
et Phoebe et Priami diruta regna senis.

I. The warrant for a consideration of this distich lies in the fact that but few editors accept the above (Ms) reading, some mark it hopeless, and most editors emend in one or two places.

a. There seems to be no inherent difficulty in *Troia*.

b. Achaia is clearly possible. (Cf. Ovid's *Epistles*, 16, 209-10, and other examples.)

c. But Phoebi seems really meaningless here.

II. The reading *Phthii* is therefore suggested.

a. It is Propertian (ii, 13, 38).

b. Achilles and Priam are frequently contrasted as representatives of the Greeks and Trojans (*e.g.* cf. Propertius, ii, 3, 39-40).

c. It gives us the contrast in verse 54 that verse 53 leads us to expect.

d. Phthia can stand as a representative of Greece. (Cf. Verg. *Aen.* i, 283 et seq.)

e. The overthrow spoken of in Phthii . . . diruta regna is that to which reference is made in Verg. *Aen.* vi, 838 et seq., and likewise in Prop. iv, 11, 39-40.

This paper will be published elsewhere.

5. Two XIV Century Treatises on the Education of Women, by Professor Robert Dupouey, University of California.

A comparison between the book of Geoffrey de la Tour Landry, and the *Ménagier de Paris*.

First. *The similarities of the two books*: in topic, tone, morals, arguments, and examples.

Second. *The Differences*:

(*a*) The book of La Tour Landry is more religious; the *Ménagier* more secular. The former is dry and puerile at times. The latter is alive with a fine and true psychology.

(*b*) La Tour, being a knight, assumes most often the tone of a "grand seigneur," speaking with a sort of formal circumspection; he has the scornful indifference of his class for the bourgeois; and, as he is an adept in the "poésie courtoise," his style is pale and traditional. The bourgeois, on the contrary, is familiar and affectionate with everybody and expresses himself in the language of the heart.

(*c*) The first, writing for his daughters, thinks, before all, of their happiness, and subordinates the interests of their future husbands to the present felicity of the girls themselves; while the second, writing for his wife, thinks principally of arranging, as well as he can, for the convenience and comfort of his own life, and habituates his young pupil to consider her husband as both the centre and supreme end of her existence.

6. Note on the Episode of the Delphic Oracle in Plato's *Apology*, by Professor J. Elmore, of Leland Stanford Jr. University.

The first question is whether the episode of the response from Delphi concerning Socrates' superior wisdom is Socratic or Platonic. If the latter, what effect did Plato seek to achieve by its introduction into the *Apology*?

If the incident be Socratic, it must either be regarded as historical, or as something made use of by Socrates for purposes of his defence, in spite of its unhistorical character. The former supposition, as Zeller long ago saw, makes it necessary

to assume for Socrates a previous career of a different kind, in which he gained sufficient prominence to attract the attention of the oracle. Judging also from Socrates' character, with its deeply laid foundations, it seems unlikely that his life should have been determined by so accidental a circumstance. The incident itself, in so far as it professes to give the origin of Socrates' life work, is singularly incomplete, and is, in fact, very different from the account of his mission, which he gives later in the dialogue. Aside from the question of what constituted the original impelling force, we know that the real purpose which animated the work of Socrates was not that which is here described.

But even if the incident be unhistorical, it may still (as Riddell and others hold) be authentic, being employed by Socrates "in a semi-rhetorical spirit to bring the audience a certain distance on their way without the offence which a direct avowal of his purpose would have aroused in their minds." In other parts of the dialogue, however, Socrates is at no pains to avoid giving offence; in fact, he is shown as virtually defying the court. The assumption, also, that an authentic part of his defence is only a rhetorical device does too much violence to the historic character of Socrates to meet with acceptance.

The remaining alternative is to consider the oracle episode as a Platonic addition, and this raises the question as to what effect Plato sought to produce by its introduction into the dialogue. The answer is suggested by the character of the popular prejudice against Socrates. Its dangerous element was not so much that he was identified with the natural philosophers as that in this identification there was implied the charge of disbelieving in the gods. This association of irreligion with physical speculation is clear from the *μη θεους νομίζειν*, which Socrates includes in the current charges against men of science. It was this powerful prejudice against which he had to defend himself, but he could not do so directly in this part of his discourse. He can, however, achieve the result indirectly, and he does so by the introduction of the response from Delphi and the subsequent action to which it led, thus setting over against a deep-seated religious prejudice an act of noble piety on his own part. The vivid recital of his loyalty to the oracle also anticipates the formal charge of impiety with which he deals later, and perhaps accounts for the brevity of the defence against this part of the indictment.

7. Virgil, by Professor H. R. Fairclough, of Leland Stanford Jr. University.

It is difficult to overestimate the importance of Virgil in the history of European literature. "Virgil," says Woodberry, "is that poet whose verse has had most power in the world. . . . He, more than any other poet, has been a part of the intellectual life of Europe, alike by length of sway and by the multitude of minds he touched in all generations."

Every reader must recognize the composite character of the *Eclogues*. Virgil is consciously introducing into Roman literature a new Greek type. The Muses are Sicilian, and therefore much of the framework and background is Sicilian too. But Virgil writes for cultivated readers, for whom, as for us, there is a distinct and special charm in literary associations. And against this background he has set a variety of subjects, of living, national, or purely imaginative interest.

And with this variety of subject, we have an almost bewildering play of fancy, and a song set in various keys, never ignoble, and at times touching the sublime. Thus in the *Eclogues* we find ourselves in an ideal land, where we have a glimpse, now of Mantua, now of Syracuse, and now of an earthly paradise. In wonder-land we do not look for close consistency. And these *Eclogues* are permeated with an air of tender and romantic sentiment, of love of home, and friends, and country, of the *dolce far niente* of Italian life, of happy communion with nature in her many phases. It is idle, in an age of fiction, for critics to talk of the unreality of the *Eclogues*. Their unreality is their great charm; for the poet is like one of his own shepherds, dreamily "conning on slim pipe the woodland muse" (*Ecl.* 1. 2).

The pastoral is evidence of the essential truth of feeling which underlies every age, however artificial. This form of literature, though it has its roots in simple, primitive life, is first exemplified for us in the late and highly artificial age of Alexandria. The Idyls of Theocritus are the expression of a revolt from this unnatural life, the yearning for a return to nature; but the signs of artificiality are clear enough even in the Sicilian poet, who, with his fellow-poets, masquerades in the guise of shepherds and herdsmen.

Transplanted to Rome in the learned Augustan age, pastoral poetry could not but accentuate this artificiality, so that though the longing and love for nature thoroughly permeate the *Eclogues*, the contrast between form and spirit is even stronger than in Theocritus. In later European literature, however, the pastoral is infinitely further removed from reality than in Theocritus or Virgil. The Arcadia romances of the sixteenth century, whether in Italy, Spain, or England, clothe the sentiment in a garb of elaborate fiction, and in the court pastorals of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the "last remnants of simplicity were abandoned," the utmost extreme of artificiality being reached by French pastoralism, in comparison with which all antecedent forms seem to breathe pure naturalism. And yet, running through all these artificial disguises ("intellectual influenza" is the term applied to them by Canon Ainger), there is a certain vein of fancy which is true, because it is the upwelling of a love for nature.

If in the *Eclogues* Virgil reveals a sense of contrast between the wholesome, genuine life of the country, and the unsound, make-believe life of the great capital, how much more vividly could he realize the truth, after mounting high on the ladder of fame, and from close association learning the essential barrenness of the proudest social life of Rome? But the *Georgics* are not satires. There is no bitterness in them. Rather, their dominant tone is happiness and joy, with but a slight undercurrent of that sadness which is never far away in Virgil. They are, in fact, a eulogy, a rhapsody, almost, upon the farmer's life, and from first to last thrilling with the poet's ardent love of his subject.

The *Aeneid* is the loftiest expression ever heard of Roman spirituality. This spiritual note is heard above all others in the *Eclogues*, in the song of creation sung by old Silenus, and in the Pollio poem, that beautiful dream of a golden age, when "a little child shall lead the world into righteousness and peace." It is heard again in the *Georgics*, where *ora et labora* is the constant theme. And again we find it echoing through the long *Aeneid*. It is in the sixth and central book that Virgil breathes his highest spiritual aspirations. This life of human effort, of vain longing, of love unsatisfied, has it no fruition, no fulfilment in the

world beyond? Is Lucretius right when he leads us down to the gloom of the grave, and leaves us to face an immortal death? This is the question with which the poet grapples, and in the answer we have, next to Plato's *Phaedo*, the noblest spiritual utterance of pagan thought. For out of all that the legends, poetry, mysteries, religion, and philosophy of Greece and Rome could teach, Virgil has gathered up the noblest elements, and made one supreme effort to catch a vision of that world beyond the grave, which even to-day only some can see, and that "through a glass darkly."

8. Notes on the *Aeneid*, by Professor Fairclough.

(a) In i, 198,

O socii, neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum,

most editors, following Servius, take *ante* with *malorum* in the sense of *antiquorum malorum*. But this is impossible, for (1) the line is a translation from Homer,

ὦ φίλοι, οὐ γάρ πώ τι κακῶν ἀδαήμενός εἰμεν,

where an adverb, *πώ*, corresponds to *ante*, and (2) Virgilian passages cited as parallels always show a substantive with strong verbal or adjectival force. Thus, in *populum late regem* (i, 21), *regem* = *regnantem*; cf. Horace's *sic fautor veterum*, with *fautor* = *favens*. So in *admodum puer*, *puer* is adjectival, 'boyish.'

(b)

Nec procul hinc Rhesi niveis tentoria velis
agnoscit lacrimans, primo quae prodita somno
Tydides multa vastabat caede cruentus,
ardentisque avertit equos in castra, etc. — i, 469 ff.

According to Bennett, the change of tense from *vastabat* to *avertit* indicates that the *avertit* statement is "not a part of the picture, but an addition of the poet." So Knapp makes *avertit* perfect, and says that it "shows that the poet is telling a story independent of the picture, not describing what Aeneas saw." He also maintains that in the whole passage (466-493) "the imperfect and the historical present picture the scenes actually represented in the paintings." It follows that if *avertit* is a present, not a perfect, tense, the statement applies to a scene "actually represented."

The Frieze-Dennison edition insists that *avertit* applies to "the immediate subject, or, so to speak, the action of the picture," while, as to *vastabat*, the subject (*Tydides*) "was not represented in the painting as actually engaged in slaughter, but the bodies of the slain, scattered around in the picture, suggest this idea."

As elsewhere, Virgil in this passage may very probably have two distinct scenes side by side. (See the article on *Virgil's Relations to Graeco-Roman Art* in *Classical Journal*, vol. II, no. 2, 1906.) In any case, we cannot infer much from the change of tense. Here *avertit* may well be used instead of *avertebat* (— — — ∪), because of the metrical difficulty of handling the long imperfect form.

(c)

numenque reducant
quod pelago et curvis secum avexere carinis. — ii, 178-179.

Cf. Servius: *numenque aut pro Palladio posuit 'numen' . . . aut 'numen' Minervam dixit.*

The meaning of *numen reducant* is much disputed. It is either (1) bring back the Palladium, which, as Sinon adds, they have taken to Greece; or (2) bring back the divine favor, which they enjoyed when they originally came to Troy, but which they have lost through sacrilege; or (3) take back to Greece the divine favor which they brought with them; or (4) take back the Palladium to Greece.

The last rendering would make 179 redundant; the third is contradicted by the fact that, according to Sinon, the Greeks have lost the divine favor; the second would require some word like *prius* to accompany *avexere*. The first is the best interpretation. After hearing about the sacrilege and the anger of Minerva, we surely ought to learn something about the restitution of the Palladium. The Greeks, then, have taken away the Palladium, in order that, after seeking fresh auspices and purifying themselves from the pollution (167), they may escort the deity back (*reducant*) with due honor, and so finally conquer Troy.

- (d) Heu misero coniunx fatone erepta Creusa
substitit erravitne via seu lassa resedit
incertum. — ii, 738 ff.

Mss and Servius have *fatone*. Ribbeck substituted the improbable *mi* for *-ne*. Most of our American school editors (e.g. Bennett, Knapp, Carter) omit *-ne* and place a full stop after *Creusa*, making 739 depend on *incertum*. But we need not give up the tradition of the Mss. The participial clause *fato erepta* belongs in common to the three verbs following, and takes the *-ne* because of its importance. The disjointed utterances express realistically the mental agitation of the speaker. Translate: "Alas! snatched away by an unhappy fate, did my wife Creusa halt, or stray from the path or sink back weary? I know not." I would punctuate after *resedit*.

- (e) The evolutions of the *ludus Troiae*.

- (1) Tres equitum numero turmae ternique vagantur
ductores; pueri bis seni quemque secuti
agmine partito fulgent paribusque magistris. — v, 560 ff.

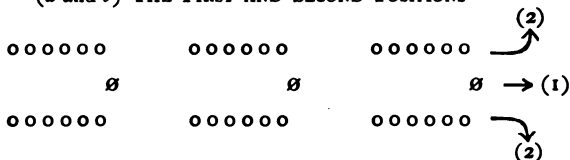
Here, "the troops of horse, three in number, and three captains gallop up and down; the boys, twice six in all, following each, move gayly, with evenly divided band and equal commanders." The *magistri* are the same as the *ductores*. The second statement merely amplifies the first (a principle which may be abundantly illustrated in Virgil); *bis seni*, not merely twelve, but twelve in two groups of six each; *agmine partito* refers to the symmetrical division of the whole into three companies and of each company into two halves; *paribus magistris* means simply that the companies are commanded alike.

- (2) Olli discurrere pares, atque agmina terni
diductis solvere choris, rursusque vocati
convertere vias infestaque tela tulere. — 580 ff.

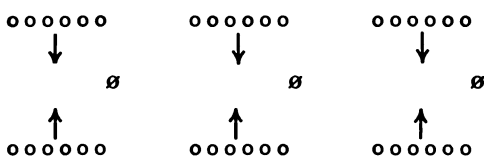
Here, "they galloped apart in equal ranks, and the three companies, parting their bands, broke up the column." The statement beginning with *atque* explains

the first in more detail. After riding in double column down the centre (*a*), they wheeled (*b*), half to the right and half to the left, and galloped toward the sides of the arena, until, at the word of command from the trainer Epytides (*rursus vocati*), they turned right about face, and the two sides charged each other with weapons levelled (*c*). The companies (*turmae*) consist of twelve youths each, so that the *chori*, or half-companies, contain six each. Thus, when they wheel to the charge, there are eighteen on each side. There are three captains and three companies of twelve each besides the trainer, or trainers, who, however, are at a distance; cf. Epytides longe dedit, 579.

(*a* and *b*) THE FIRST AND SECOND POSITIONS



(*c*) THE THIRD POSITION



The captains probably act as pivot-points, or mark the centre of the field, where the charging half-companies come to a halt.

(*f*) Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento
(hae tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere morem,
parcere subiectis et debellare superbos. — vi, 851 ff.

Mss (with unimportant exceptions) have *paci*. So, too, a cento of Proba, fourth century. The dative was preferred by Bentley, and is read by Ribbeck and Norden. Servius glosses *pacis morem* by *leges pacis*, and *pacis* has been adopted by all school editors. Norden has shown that literary tradition favors *paci*. This also seems to give much the better sense, 'crown peace with law.' Virgil is thinking of the beneficent rule of Augustus, who brought peace to the world, and then to that pacified world gave the blessings of law and order; in a word, civilization. Cf. i, 264, *moresque viris et moenia ponet*. Here, however, the singular, *morem*, is more abstract than *mores*. It may be illustrated by the common phrases *in morem*, 'according to the law of,' and *sine more*, 'lawlessly.' But the best parallel to our present passage is to be found in the eighth book, where Evander thus describes the primitive dwellers on the site of Rome:

quis neque mos neque cultus erat, nec iungere tauros
aut componere opes norant aut parcere parto,
sed rami atque asper victu venatus alebat. — viii, 316 ff.

9. Use of *lai* in the Sense of *lamenti* in Italian Poetry, by Professor O. M. Johnston, of the Leland Stanford Jr. University.

The conclusion of this paper is that the meaning of sadness attached to *lai* is due to its frequent use in describing the songs of birds, and the principal argument supporting this conclusion is based on the fact that the songs of the birds most frequently mentioned in Italian poetry were considered sad.

10. Theocritus' Treatment of the Daphnis Story, by Professor A. T. Murray, of the Leland Stanford Jr. University.

The treatment of the Daphnis story by Theocritus has long been a subject for discussion, and attempts are still from time to time made to combine the various passages so as to give one consistent story, one that harmonizes with the familiar version current before Theocritus' day. This, the writer, in common with most scholars, held to be patently impossible, since it is only by forced interpretation, or by alteration of the text, that the song of Thyrsis, in Idyll i, can be made to agree with the older version.

The following interpretations were suggested:—

(1) In Idyll viii we have what may well be an allusion to the familiar version. At least the passage as far as it goes agrees with that version. Daphnis, while still a youth, wins a nymph for his bride. There was no occasion here to pursue the theme further: hence there is no hint of the vow, of the subsequent unfaithfulness, or of the blinding of Daphnis.

(2) In Idyll vii, perhaps through the influence of the story of Menalcas and Eriphanis, we have a new conception: the hero of pastoral song now appears as a hapless, hopeless lover, with whom all nature sympathizes.

(3) Finally, in the Thyrsis song in Idyll i, there appears an entirely new conception, and the traditional version is completely disregarded. Here we must admit that Reitzenstein, while his view of the origin of bucolic poetry is untenable, has pointed the way to a correct solution. Daphnis, because of his chastity, has incurred the wrath of Aphrodite, as did Hippolytus. She sends upon him a consuming passion for a maid, who, in turn, loves him madly, and who seeks her lover through groves and fountains. (To excise *ἄρεϊσα*, with Helm, is most unwarrantable.) Daphnis dies rather than yield,—dies of unsatisfied passion (*τάκεται*); yet scorns to accept the means which the sensual Priapus points out for satisfying this passion.

This paper will later be published in full.

11. A Note on Cicero, *pro Sulla*, 52 (nocte ea . . . Nonarum Nov.), by Professor H. C. Nutting, of the University of California.

The reading *nocte ea . . . me consule* has been regarded with some suspicion. But (1) so far as the wording and common interpretation of the passage are concerned, it cannot be said that the phrase is un-Ciceronian; and (2) the presence of the phrase at the point where it stands might be accounted for by supposing that Cicero quotes it from an official document, *eg.* from the official record of the evidence presented before the Senate on Dec. 3, 63 B.C.

This paper will appear in the *American Journal of Philology*.

12. *Ni*-Clauses in Virgil; with Special Reference to Protases in which the Present Subjunctive appears, by Dr. Andrew Oliver, Berkeley, California.

In the works of Virgil, including his so-called *Carmina Minora*, there are 31 instances of clauses introduced by *ni* or *nisi*, distributed as follows: with pres. ind. 5; with fut. 1; with perf. 2; with pres. subj. 10;¹ with imp. subj. 4; and with plup. subj. 8. There are no clauses of this kind either in the *Copa* or in the *Moretum*.

The particular type of protasis under discussion in this paper is that in which the verb-form appears as a present subjunctive. In such clauses the writer finds comparatively few cases in which the concept of unreality is clearly indicated, showing that Virgil does not ordinarily fancy the archaic usage. In support of this thesis it is interesting to compare the poet's inclination in *si*-clauses, in which he distinctly shows a decided preference for the regular Ciceronian models. There are, however, some striking exceptions, e.g. *Georg.* iv, 116 ff. (*ni . . . traham et . . . festinem*, etc., *forsitan . . . canerem*), where the archaic present is seen in the protasis only; also *Aen.* ii, 599 f., where the rare use of the perfect subjunctive in a past unreal apodosis is found, the present subjunctive in the *ni*-clause representing, as the context obviously shows, a present contrary to fact idea. Moreover, there are at least three cases in which the *διὰ θεοῦ ψυχικὴ* of the speaker is open to some dispute, viz. *Aen.* i, 58 f., vi, 292 ff., and xi, 913 ff. These cases all occur in lively narrative, making it somewhat difficult to determine how far the protasis is influenced, on the one hand by the use of the accompanying "present of vivid narration" (Lane), and on the other by metrical considerations.

In the exciting incident of the boat-race depicted in *Aen.* v, 230 ff., may be felt, perhaps, not only the influence of the present thus used in vivid narrative upon the *ni*-clause, but also the "anticipatory" or the "volitive" influence at work in Virgil's description of the keen rivalry of the contestants. Again, there are three instances of suppressed or implied apodoses (*Georg.* iv, 455 ff., *Aen.* ix, 803 ff., and xii, 733 ff.), although in each of these cases the idea of unreality is wholly absent in the *ni*-clause as well as in the general context.

A single example occurs (*Aen.* ii, 178 ff.) in which the *ni*-clause appears in *Oratio Obliqua*, i.e. in the prophecy (*canit*) of Calchas, the seer; and here once more the attitude of mind is naturally one of anticipation, to say nothing of the fact that the clause hinges directly upon the prophecy itself.

A tabulation of the remaining uses in the *ni*-clause follows:

- (a) With Pres. Indic.: *Ecl.* 8, 67; *Georg.* i, 177; *Aen.* v, 49; vii, 433; xii, 568.
- (b) With Fut. Indic.: *Georg.* i, 155.
- (c) With Perf. Indic.: *Aen.* i, 392; *Catal.* 9, 2.
- (d) With Imp. Subj.: *Georg.* i, 198; *Aen.* vi, 353; viii, 510; x, 328.
- (e) With Plup. Subj.: { *Ecl.* 9, 14; *Aen.* v, 376; vi, 359; viii, 523; xi, 112;
 Ciris 130 and 278; *Culex* 160.

¹ Exclusive of a single instance of *ni* used as the archaic negative conjunction of purpose (*Aen.* iii, 686).

13. Carlyle and the German Classics, by Dr. F. Winther, of the University of California.

Among Carlyle's many essays there are several on German writers, notably those on Goethe, Schiller, Novalis, and Richter. While Carlyle aimed to master and describe their habits of thought and expression, his whole way of thinking was in turn influenced by the personalities of these men. Carlyle's was not the artist's temperament, but, in spite of the one-sidedness of his grandeur and a vigor almost coarse, he yet towers into the sphere of artists, carrying there his simple and intense philosophy of duty. Thus, the portraits in Carlyle's essays are painted more like the robust figures of Balzac than the finely shaded miniatures one finds among the pen pictures of C. F. Meyer. For Carlyle, meaning was above method and life above word; the passionate moral intensity of his imagination made his studies of the great German writers rather enthusiastic praises of their appreciation of the deep truths of life than a study of the talents and means by which they led those profound truths into the medium of art. Novalis, for instance, with his delicate and dreamy imagination, gets small justice from Carlyle, which is not surprising when we remember that this is the same critic who saw in Keats only maudlin sensibility. Carlyle the critic, as Carlyle the philosopher, Carlyle the social reformer, asks of every man he studies that his acts express his thoughts and that his thoughts shall be the result of reason, and so he measures the greatness of Goethe, Schiller, Richter, and others, not according to their art, but according to their ideals and the way they lived up to them. Plainly enough, Carlyle is one of the many whose vision was profoundly influenced by that broad current of idealism which, starting in Germany from Immanuel Kant, presently covered and fertilized the whole territory of culture.

INDEX

Arabic numerals refer to pages of the *Transactions*, Roman to the *Proceedings*.

- acalanthis*: 31, 36 ff.
 Accent and ictus (Latin): xv ff.
 Accusative of exclamation, in Plautus and Terence: xvii.
 Aeschines: 46.
 Aeschylus, and Mrs. Browning: xiv f.
Ajax, 1st antistrophe of: xix.
akardis: 40.
 Alexandria, capture of (Pierre de Lusignan): 91, 96 ff.
 Algeir (Algeciras), siege of: 91 ff.
 Alphabet, Siamese, and the Sanskrit: 20 ff.
 Andocides: 42 f.
 Antiphon: 41 f.
 Antispast, rehabilitation of, in new metric: 57 ff., 67 ff., 81, 87 f.
 Apollo, and the Python: xvii.
 Aramaic, papyri: xx f.
 Artemidorus: xiv.
 Assuan, papyri: xx f.
 Ba'al: v. Belus, and I. O. M.
 Bellona, in Gaul and Germany: 115 f.
 Belmarye: 92 f.
 Belus, in Gaul: 113.
 Bible, Mss of: xxii.
 Birds: 31 ff.
 Browning, Mrs., and Aeschylus, xiv f.
 Caecilius (rhetor): 41 ff.
 Canterbury Tales: 89 ff.
 Carlyle, and the German classics: xli.
castra, castella: xii.
 Chaucer, the Knight's Tale: 89 ff.; age of the Knight: 104; the Squire's Tale: 107.
 Choriambic dimeter: 57 ff.
 Cicero, *pro Sulla*, 52: xxxix.
comitia: 49 ff.
conea = *ciconia*: 33.
 Consonants, shift of, in Siamese: 19 ff.; Latin: 36; Romance: 31 ff.
contiones: 49 ff.
 Criticism, Photius (Attic Orators): 41 ff.
 Cults: v. Religion.
 Daphnis story (Theocritus): xxxix.
 Darius, accession of, Herodotus on, xxiv ff.
 Dea Caelestis (Tanith), in the West: 114 f.
 Delphic oracle, and Socrates (*Apol.*): xxxiii f.
 Demosthenes: 45 f.
 Dimeter, choriambic: 57 ff.
 Direction, determinatives of, in Siamese: xxxi f.
 Education, of women: xxxiii.
 Egypt, Mss from, Aramaic: xx f.; Greek: xxii.
 Elections, Roman: 49 ff.
 Exclamation, accusative of, in Plautus and Terence: xvii.
 Gaul, oriental cults in: 109 ff.; Romanization of: 112 *et passim*.
 Germany (Roman), oriental cults in: 109 ff.
 Glyconics: 71 f.
 Great Mother: v. Magna Mater.
 Greeks, and suicide: xxii f.
 Herodotus, and the accession of Darius, iii, 27-88: xxiv ff.
hiberna: xii.

- hirundo*, and derivatives: 32 ff.
Homer, sigmatism in: xxiii f.
Ictus, and accent (Latin): xv ff.
Indian words, in Siamese: 19 ff.
Inscriptions, Roman. (tituli sacri): 113 ff.
Isaeus: 45.
Isis, in Gaul and Germany: 123 ff.
Isocrates: 44 ff.
Jupiter Ammon, in Gaul: 116.
Jupiter Olbius, in Germany: 116.
I. O. M. Dolichenus, in Gaul and Germany: 119 f.
I. O. M. Heliopolitanus, do.: 117 ff.
Jupiter Sabasius, do.: 116 f.
Knight's Tale, the, sources of the adventures: 89 ff., 104 ff.
 $\iota < \epsilon$: 31 f., 36.
lai = *lamenti*: xxxix.
Lambaesis, 'praetorium' at: xii f.
Legend, and history, in Herodotus: xxiv ff.
Legions, in Germany: 112 ff.
Lemuria: 36.
luscinia: 31 ff.
Lycurgus: 46.
Lyceys (Layas, Ayas): 99 f.
Lysias: 43 f.
Magna Mater, in Germany and Gaul: 128 ff.
Metric: xv ff.; the new: 57 ff.
Metrical notation: 58, 62, 65, 71 ff., 77, 81 ff., xv ff.
Mithras, in Gaul and Germany: 138 ff.
Mythology: xvii, xxi.
necteala: 31.
nightingale, 31 ff.
olos, use of: xviii f.
Opinion, public (Roman), and the theatre: 49 ff.
ὄρωλος, use of: xviii f.
Orators, Attic, Photius' criticisms of: 41 ff.
Pāli: 19 ff.
Papyri, Aramaic (Assuan): xx f.
Philology, classical: xx.
Philomela: 33 f.
Photius, on Attic Orators: 41 ff.
Plagiarism (Poe): xxxi.
plasma: 63, 68.
Plato, *Apology*: xxxiii f.
ποῖος, use of: xviii f.
Politics, Roman: 49 ff.
Polybius, verbal in *-reo* in: xiii f.
praetorium: xii f.
Procne: 33 f.
Propertius, ii, 28, 54: xxxii f.
propheta: 126.
Prussia, and Teutonic Order: 101 ff.
Python-myth: xvii.
Quadrisyllabic metrical groups: 65, 71 ff.
Quantity, rhythmical modification of: 59 ff., 64 f.
Religion, stoning as related to: 11, 15 ff.; oriental cults in Gaul and Germany: 109 ff.
Rhythm: xv ff., 58 ff., 68, 74, 76 ff.; ascending and descending: 61, 69 f., 81.
rossignol, *rossignuolo*: 31 f.
ruscinia: 31 ff.
ruscus: 32, 37, 39.
sacri: 125.
Sanskrit, and Siamese: 20 ff.
Sarapis, in Gaul and Germany: 123 ff.
Satalye (Attalia): 99 f.
Siam, contact of, with India: 19 ff.
Siamese, consonant shift in: 19 ff.; determinatives of direction in: xxxi f.
Sigmatism, in Homer: xxiii f.
Sophocles' *Ajax*, 1st antistrophe of: xix.
Squire's Tale, sources of the: 107.
Stoning, among the Greeks and Romans: 5 ff.; penalty for treason, cowardice, etc.: 6 ff.; for murder, impiety, maladministration, etc.: 10 ff.; due to private hatred or partisanship: 13 ff.; ceremonial instances: 15 ff.
Substitution, metrical: 61 ff.
Suicide, the Greeks and: xxii f.
Suidas: xiv.

Swallow, the: 33.

Syncopation, metrical and musical:
87 f.

taurobolium: 129 ff.

-*reo*, verbal in, in Polybius: xiii f.

Teutonic Order: 101 ff.

Theatre, Roman, as factor in politics:
49 ff.

Theocritus, Daphnis story in: xxxix.

Tramissene: 92 ff.

Vaticanum: 116, 131 f.

Verbal in -*reo*, in Polybius: xiii f.

Vergil: xxxiv ff.; *ni*-clauses in: xl;

Ecl. 4: xxxii; *Aen.* i, 198, 469 ff.;

ii, 178 f., 738 ff.; v, 560 ff.; 580 ff.;

vi, 851 ff.; viii, 316 ff.: xxxvi ff.

Women, education of, old treatises on
(XIV century): xxxiii.

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JANUARY 1, 1907, TO JANUARY 1, 1908

The Bibliographical Record — a very incomplete list of the publications of the members, as returned by themselves — aims to include not only publications that are distinctly philological in character, but also those that deal with the educational aspects of the study of language and literature.

ABBREVIATIONS

AHR — American Historical Review.
AJA — American Journal of Archaeology.
AJP — American Journal of Philology.
AJSL — American Journal of Semitic Languages.
AYT — American Journal of Theology.
Archiv — Archiv für latein. Lexikographie.
Bookm. — The Bookman.
CJ — Classical Journal.
CP — Classical Philology.
CQ — Classical Quarterly.
CR — Classical Review.
CSCP — Cornell Studies in Classical Philology.
CW — Classical Weekly.
ER — Educational Review.
GWUB — George Washington University Bulletin.
HSCP — Harvard Studies in Classical Philology.
HSPL — Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature.
IF — Indogermanische Forschungen.
JAOS — Journal of the American Oriental Society.

JBL — Journal of Biblical Literature.
JGP — Journal of English and Germanic Philology.
JHUC — Johns Hopkins University Circulars.
LL — Latin Leaflet.
MLA — Publications of the Modern Language Association.
MLN — Modern Language Notes.
MP — Modern Philology.
Nat. — The Nation.
PAPA — Proceedings of the American Philological Association.
PUB — Princeton University Bulletin.
SER — Southern Educational Review.
SR — School Review.
TAPA — Transactions of the American Philological Association.
UMS — University of Michigan Studies.
UPB — University of Pennsylvania Bulletin.
VUS — Vanderbilt University Studies.
WRUB — Western Reserve University Bulletin.

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- Prof. Harry E. Burton, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1899.
- Prof. Henry F. Burton, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y. 1878.
- Prof. Curtis C. Bushnell, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. (205 Dell St.). 1900.
- Prof. Orma Fitch Butler, College for Women, Oxford, Ohio, 1907.
- Pres. Henry A. Buttz, Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J. 1869.
- Prof. Donald Cameron, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1905.
- Prof. Edward Capps, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1889.
- Prof. Mitchell Carroll, The George Washington University, Washington, D. C.
1894.
- Frank Carter, The College, Winchester, England. 1897.
- Dr. Franklin Carter, Williamstown, Mass. 1871.

- Prof. Jesse Benedict Carter, American School of Classical Studies, Rome, Italy (Via Vicenza 5). 1898.
- Dr. Earnest Cary, Conant Hall 7, Cambridge, Mass. 1905.
- Prof. Mary Emily Case, Wells College, Aurora, N. Y. 1895.
- Prof. Clarence F. Castle, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1888.
- William Van Allen Catron, Lexington, Mo. 1896.
- Prof. Julia H. Caverno, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1902.
- * B. H. Cerf, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1903.
- * Prof. Samuel A. Chambers, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2223 Atherton St.). 1900.
- Miss Eva Channing, Hemenway Chambers, Boston, Mass. 1883.
- Prof. A. C. Chapin, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1888.
- Prof. Henry Leland Chapman, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. 1892.
- Prof. George Davis Chase, University of Maine, Orono, Me. 1900.
- Prof. George H. Chase, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (24 Grays Hall). 1899.
- Prof. S. R. Cheek, Centre College of Kentucky, Danville, Ky. 1890.
- * Prof. J. E. Church, Jr., University of Nevada, Reno, Nev. 1901.
- * Prof. Edward B. Clapp, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1886.
- Prof. Charles Upson Clark, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (473 Edgewood Ave.). 1905.
- Miss Emma Kirkland Clark, 545 A Quincy St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1896.
- Dr. Frank Lowry Clark, Washburn College, Topeka, Kan. (1511 West St.). 1902.
- * Prof. John T. Clark, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2214 Russell St.). 1906.
- Dr. Sereno Burton Clark, 413 Emmet St., Ypsilanti, Mich. 1907.
- Prof. Harold Loomis Cleasby, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1905.
- Prof. Charles Nelson Cole, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O. 1902.
- Prof. George Stuart Collins, Polytechnic Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1897.
- Prof. Hermann Collitz, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1887.
- William T. Colville, Carbondale, Pa. 1884.
- Prof. Elisha Conover, Delaware College, Newark, Del. 1897.
- Edmund C. Cook, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. 1904.
- Dr. Arthur Stoddard Cooley, 387 Central St., Auburndale, Mass. 1896.
- J. Randolph Coolidge, Jr., Chestnut Hill, Mass. 1884.
- * Prof. W. A. Cooper, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Palo Alto, Cal. (1111 Emerson St.). 1901.
- * J. Allen De Cou, Monrovia, Cal. 1900.
- Prof. William L. Cowles, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1888.
- Prof. W. H. Crogman, Clark University, South Atlanta, Ga. 1898.
- W. L. Cushing, Westminster School, Simsbury, Conn. 1888.
- * Ludwig J. Demeter, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (1300 Grove St.). 1903.
- Prof. William K. Denison, Tufts College, Mass. 1899.
- Prof. Walter Dennison, American School of Classical Studies, Rome, Italy (Via Vicenza 5). 1899.
- Prof. Samuel C. Derby, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. 1895.

- * Monroe E. Deutsch, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1904.
- Prof. Norman W. DeWitt, Miami University, Oxford, O. 1907.
- Sherwood Owen Dickerman, 140 Cottage St., New Haven, Conn. 1902.
- Prof. Benjamin L. D'Ooge, State Normal College, Ypsilanti, Mich. 1895.
- Prof. Martin L. D'Ooge, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1873.
- Prof. Louis H. Dow, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1895.
- Prof. Joseph H. Drake, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1907.
- Prof. William Prentiss Drew, Knox College, Galesburg, Ill. 1907.
- Prof. Eli Dunkle, Ohio University, Athens, O. 1904.
- * Prof. Robert Dupouey, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2301 Hearst Ave.). 1906.
- Prof. Charles L. Durham, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1906.
- Miss Emily Helen Dutton, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. (37 Green Hall). 1898.
- Prof. Frederick Carlos Eastman, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. 1907.
- Prof. Herman L. Ebeling, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. 1892.
- Prof. William S. Ebersole, Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Ia. 1893.
- Prof. W. A. Eckels, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn. 1894.
- Prof. George V. Edwards, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y., 1901.
- Prof. Katharine M. Edwards, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1893.
- Dr. Philip H. Edwards, Baltimore City College, Baltimore, Md. 1907.
- Prof. James C. Egbert, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1889.
- Prof. Wallace Stedman Elden, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. (1734 Summit St.). 1900.
- Prof. A. Marshall Elliott, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1884.
- Prof. W. A. Elliott, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa. 1897.
- Prof. Herbert C. Elmer, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1887.
- * Prof. J. Elmore, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Palo Alto, Cal. (1134 Emerson St.). 1900.
- Prof. Levi Henry Elwell, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1883.
- Miss E. Antoinette Ely, The Clifton School, Cincinnati, O. 1893.
- Prof. Edgar A. Emens, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1895.
- Prof. Robert B. English, Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pa. 1905.
- Prof. George Taylor Ettinger, Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa. 1896.
- Principal O. Faduma, Peabody Academy, Troy, N. C. 1900.
- Dr. Arthur Fairbanks, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1886.
- * Prof. H. Rushton Fairclough, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1887.
- Prof. Edwin W. Fay, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. 1889.
- Pres. Thomas Fell, St. John's College, Annapolis, Md. 1888.
- * Prof. W. S. Ferguson, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (Cloyne Court). 1899.
- Principal F. J. Fessenden, Fessenden School, West Newton, Mass. 1890.
- Prof. Mervin G. Filler, Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa. 1905.
- Dr. George Converse Fiske, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. (616 Lake St.). 1900.
- Prof. Edward Fitch, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. 1890.

- Everett Henry Fitch, 148 Whalley Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1906.
Prof. Thomas Fitz-Hugh, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. (Life member). 1902.
William Alexander Fleet, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1907.
Miss Caroline R. Fletcher, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1906.
Dr. Roy C. Flickinger, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. (718 Clark St.). 1905.
Miss Helen C. Flint, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1897.
* Prof. Ewald Flügel, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1900.
Prof. Charles H. Forbes, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. 1907.
* Prof. Benjamin O. Foster, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1899.
Prof. Frank H. Fowler, Lombard College, Galesburg, Ill. 1893.
Prof. Harold N. Fowler, Western Reserve University (College for Women), Cleveland, O. 1885.
Miss Susan Fowler, The Brearley School, New York, N. Y. (17 W. 44th St.). 1904.
Prof. Tenney Frank, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1906.
Dr. Susan B. Franklin, Ethical Culture School, 63d St. and Central Park West, New York, N. Y. 1890.
* Prof. P. J. Frein, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. (University Station, Box 104). 1900.
Dr. I. F. Frisbee, 187 W. Canton St., Boston, Mass. 1898.
* Prof. John Fryer, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2620 Durant Ave.). 1900.
Prof. Charles Kelsey Gaines, St. Lawrence University, Canton, N. Y. 1890.
John S. Galbraith, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1907.
* Dr. John Gamble, Haywards, Cal. 1902.
Prof. J. B. Game, Normal School, Cape Girardeau, Mo. 1907.
* Prof. Charles M. Gayley, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2328 Piedmont Ave.). 1895.
Principal Seth K. Gifford, Moses Brown School, Providence, R. I. 1891.
Prof. Basil L. Gildersleeve, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1876.
Pedro Ramon Gillott, Wyoming Seminary, Kingston, Pa. 1906.
* Charles B. Gleason, High School, San José, Cal. 1900.
Clarence Willard Gleason, Volkmann School, Boston, Mass. (6 Waverly St., Roxbury). 1901.
* Dr. Pliny E. Goddard, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2523 Hilgard Ave.). 1902.
Prof. Julius Goebel, Cambridge, Mass. 1900.
Prof. Thomas D. Goodell, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (35 Edgehill Road). 1883.
Prof. Charles J. Goodwin, Lehigh University, So. Bethlehem, Pa. 1891.
Prof. William W. Goodwin, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (5 Follen St.). 1870.
Miss Florence A. Gragg, 26 Maple Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1906.
Prof. Roscoe Allan Grant, De Witt Clinton High School, New York, N. Y. (60 West 13th St.). 1902.

- * Walter H. Graves, High School, Oakland, Cal. (1428 Seventh Ave.). 1900.
 Dr. W. D. Gray, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1907.
 Prof. E. L. Green, South Carolina College, Columbia, S. C. 1898.
 Prof. Herbert Eveleth Greene, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1890.
 * Miss Rebecca T. Greene, Palo Alto, Cal. (721 Webster St.). 1900.
 Prof. Wilber J. Greer, Washburn College, Topeka, Kan. 1892.
 * Prof. James O. Griffin, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. (Box 144.) 1896.
 Dr. Alfred Gudeman, Franz Josefsstrasse 12, Munich, Germany. 1889.
 Dr. Roscoe Guernsey, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1902.
 Prof. Charles Burton Gulick, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (18 Walker St.), 1894.
 Prof. Richard Mott Gummere, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. 1907.
 Miss Grace Guthrie, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1906.
 Dr. George D. Hadzsits, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1904.
 Dr. Walter D. D. Hadzsits, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1904.
 * Prof. A. S. Haggett, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1901.
 Miss Elizabeth Hazelton Haight, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1902.
 Prof. William Gardner Hale, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1882.
 Prof. Arthur P. Hall, Drury College, Springfield, Mo. 1886.
 Prof. F. A. Hall, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. (531 Spring Ave.). 1896.
 Frank T. Hallett, Cathedral School of St. Paul, Garden City, L. I., N. Y. 1902.
 Prof. T. F. Hamblin, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa. 1895.
 Prof. H. A. Hamilton, Elmira College, Elmira, N. Y. 1895.
 Principal John Calvin Hanna, High School, Oak Park, Ill. (209 South East Ave.). 1896.
 Prof. Albert Granger Harkness, Brown University, Providence, R. I. 1896.
 Prof. Austin Morris Harmon, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1907.
 Prof. Karl P. Harrington, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. 1892.
 Miss Mary B. Harris, 2252 Calumet Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1902.
 Prof. W. A. Harris, Richmond College, Richmond, Va. (1606 West Grace St.). 1895.
 Prof. William Fenwick Harris, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (8 Mercer Circle). 1901.
 Prof. J. E. Harry, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O. 1896.
 Dr. Carl A. Harström, The Folly, Norwalk, Conn. 1900.
 Prof. Samuel Hart, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1871.
 * Prof. Walter Morris Hart, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2255 Piedmont Ave.). 1903.
 Eugene W. Harter, Erasmus Hall High School, Brooklyn, N. Y. (121 Marlborough Road). 1901.
 Prof. Harold Ripley Hastings, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1905.
 Prof. Adeline Belle Hawes, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1902.
 Dr. Edward Southworth Hawes, Polytechnic Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1888.
 Rev. Dr. Henry H. Haynes, 6 Ellery St., Cambridge, Mass. 1900.
 Prof. F. M. Hazen, Box 573, Middletown, Conn. 1896.
 Eugene A. Hecker, Sheffield, Mass. 1907.

- Prof. W. A. Heidel, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. 1900.
Prof. F. B. R. Hellems, State University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo. 1900.
Prof. Otto Heller, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1896.
Nathan Wilbur Helm, Phillips Exeter Academy, 3 Marston Place, Exeter, N. H. 1900.
* Prof. George Hempl, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1895.
Prof. Archer Wilmot Hendrick, Whitman College, Walla Walla, Wash. 1904.
Prof. George L. Hendrickson, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1892.
Prof. John H. Hewitt, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1886.
Prof. Joseph William Hewitt, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. 1905.
Edwin H. Higley, Groton School, Groton, Mass. 1899.
Prof. Henry T. Hildreth, Roanoke College, Salem, Va. 1896.
Prof. James M. Hill, Central High School, Philadelphia, Pa. 1900.
Dr. Gertrude Hirst, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1902.
Harwood Hoadley, 140 West 13th St., New York, N. Y. 1903.
Prof. Helen Elisabeth Hoag, Mt. Holyoke College, So. Hadley, Mass. 1907.
Archibald L. Hodges, Wadleigh High School, 114th St., near 7th Ave., New York, N. Y. 1899.
* Miss F. Hodgkinson, Lowell High School, San Francisco, Cal. 1903.
Prof. Arthur W. Hodgman, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. (325 West 10th Ave.). 1896.
Dr. Charles Hoeing, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y. 1899.
Prof. Horace A. Hoffman, University of Indiana, Bloomington, Ind. 1893.
Dr. D. H. Holmes, Eastern District High School, Brooklyn, N. Y. (878 Driggs Ave.). 1900.
Prof. W. D. Hooper, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga. 1894.
Prof. E. Washburn Hopkins, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (299 Lawrence St.). 1883.
Prof. Joseph Clark Hoppin, 304 Sears Bld., Boston, Mass. 1900.
Dr. Herbert Pierpont Houghton, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1907.
Prof. Albert A. Howard, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (12 Walker St.). 1892.
Prof. George E. Howes, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1896.
Prof. Frank G. Hubbard, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1896.
Prof. J. H. Huddilston, University of Maine, Orono, Me. 1898.
Prof. Walter Hullihen, Grant University, Chattanooga, Tenn. 1904.
Prof. Milton W. Humphreys, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. 1871.
Stephen A. Hurlbut, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1903.
Prof. Richard Wellington Husband, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1907.
Dr. George B. Hussey, East Orange, N. J. 1887.
Prof. Frederick L. Hutson, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1902.
Prof. J. W. D. Ingersoll, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (139 York St.). 1897.
Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1884.
Dr. Carl Newell Jackson, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (24 Beck Hall). 1905.

- Prof. George E. Jackson, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. (4400 Morgan St.). 1890.
- Prof. M. W. Jacobus, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. (14 Marshall St.). 1893.
- Prof. Hans C. G. von Jagemann, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (113 Walker St.). 1882.
- * M. C. James, High School, Berkeley, Cal. 1900.
- Dr. Samuel A. Jeffers, State Normal School, California, Pa. 1904.
- Dr. Charles W. L. Johnson, 10 South St., Baltimore, Md. 1897.
- Prof. William H. Johnson, Denison University, Granville, O. 1895.
- Prof. Eva Johnston, University of the State of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1902.
- Prof. George W. Johnston, University of Toronto, Toronto, Can. 1895.
- * Prof. Oliver M. Johnston, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1900.
- Charles Hodge Jones, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1906.
- Horace L. Jones, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1908.
- Prof. J. C. Jones, University of the State of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1902.
- * Winthrop L. Keep, Mills College, Alameda Co., Cal. 1900.
- Prof. George Dwight Kellogg, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. (10 Nassau St.). 1897.
- Prof. Francis W. Kelsey, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1890.
- Dr. Roland G. Kent, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (College Hall). 1903.
- Prof. John B. Kieffer, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa. 1889.
- Prof. William Hamilton Kirk, Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J. 1898.
- Prof. J. C. Kirtland, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. 1895.
- Prof. George Lyman Kittredge, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (9 Hilliard St.). 1884.
- Dr. William H. Klapp, Academy of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1324 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1894.
- Prof. Charles Knapp, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (1737 Sedgwick Ave.). 1892.
- Charles S. Knox, St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H. 1889.
- Miss Lucile Kohn, 1138 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1905.
- * Dr. Alfred L. Kroeber, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1902.
- Prof. William H. Kruse, Fort Wayne, Ind. 1905.
- * Dr. Benjamin P. Kurtz, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1906.
- Prof. Gordon F. Laing, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1907.
- Prof. A. G. Laird, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1890.
- Prof. William A. Lamberton, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.
- * Prof. A. F. Lange, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2629 Haste St.). 1900.
- Prof. W. B. Langsdorf, 189 Kokutajimura, Hiroshima, Japan. 1895.
- Prof. Charles R. Lanman, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (9 Farrar St.). 1877.
- Lewis H. Lapham, 8 Bridge St., New York, N. Y. 1880.
- Prof. William Cranston Lawton, Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y. (224 Willoughby Ave.). 1888.

- Prof. Abby Leach, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1888.
Dr. Arthur G. Leacock, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. 1899.
Dr. Emory B. Lease, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. (512 West 151st St.). 1895.
Prof. David Russell Lee, Central College, Fayette, Mo. 1907.
Dr. Winfred G. Leutner, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. 1905.
Prof. Thomas B. Lindsay, Boston University, Boston, Mass. 1880.
* Dr. Ivan M. Linforth, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2742 Derby St.). 1903.
Prof. Charles Edgar Little, University of Nashville, Nashville, Tenn. 1902.
Miss Dale Livingstone, State Normal School, California, Pa. 1902.
Prof. Gonzalez Lodge, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1888.
Prof. O. F. Long, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 1900.
Prof. F. M. Longanecker, High School, Charleston, W. Va. 1906.
Prof. George D. Lord, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1887.
D. O. S. Lowell, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass. 1894.
Prof. Frederick Lutz, Albion College, Albion, Mich. 1883.
Prof. Nelson G. McCrea, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1890.
Prof. Walton Brooks McDaniel, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (College Hall). 1901.
Prof. J. H. McDaniels, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. 1871.
Prof. A. St. Clair Mackenzie, State College of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky. (Life member.) 1901.
Prof. George F. McKibben, Denison University, Granville, O. 1885.
Miss Harriett E. McKinstry, Lake Erie College, Painesville, O. 1881.
Dr. Charlotte F. McLean, Birmingham School, Birmingham, Pa. 1906.
Pres. George E. MacLean, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. (603 College St.). 1891.
Prof. Donald Alexander MacRae, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1907.
Prof. Grace H. Macurdy, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1894.
Robert L. McWhorter, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga. 1906.
Prof. David Magie, Jr., Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. (12 Nassau St.). 1901.
Dr. H. W. Magoun, 70 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass. 1891.
Prof. John D. Maguire, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1906.
Pres. J. H. T. Main, Iowa College, Grinnell, Ia. 1891.
Prof. J. Irving Manatt, Brown University, Providence, R. I. (15 Keene St.). 1875.
Prof. John M. Manly, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1896.
Prof. Richard Clarke Manning, Kenyon College, Gambier, O. 1905.
Prof. F. A. March, Sr., Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. 1869.
Prof. Allan Marquand, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1891.
* Prof. E. Whitney Martin, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Palo Alto, Cal. (727 Cowper St.). 1903.
Dr. Winfred R. Martin, Hispanic Society of America, 156th St. west of Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1879.
Miss Ellen F. Mason, Rhode Island Ave., Newport, R. I. 1885.

- * Miss Gertrude H. Mason, Berkeley, Cal. (2627 Channing Way). 1906.
- Dr. Maurice W. Mather, 9 Maple St., Exeter, N. H. 1894.
- * Prof. John E. Matzke, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. (Box 105). 1900.
- Prof. Clarence Linton Meader, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1902.
- Prof. Frank Ivan Merchant, Iowa State Normal School, Cedar Falls, Ia. (1928 Normal St.). 1898.
- Ernest Loren Meritt, 140 S. Main St., Gloversville, N. Y. 1903.
- Prof. Elmer Truesdell Merrill, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1883.
- * Prof. William A. Merrill, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2609 College Ave.). 1886.
- Dr. Truman Michelson, Ridgefield, Conn. (R. F. D. 48). 1900.
- Prof. Alfred W. Mildner, Emory and Henry College, Emory, Va. 1903.
- Prof. C. W. E. Miller, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1892.
- Prof. Walter Miller, Tulane University, New Orleans, La. 1900.
- Prof. Clara Millerd, Iowa College, Grinnell, Ia. 1902.
- Dr. Richard A. v. Minckwitz, De Witt Clinton High School, New York, N. Y. (Amsterdam Ave. and 102d St.). 1895.
- Charles A. Mitchell, Asheville School, Asheville, N. C. 1893.
- Prof. Annie Sybil Montague, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1906.
- Prof. Clifford Herschel Moore, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (112 Brattle St.). 1889.
- Prof. Frank Gardner Moore, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1888.
- Prof. George F. Moore, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (3 Divinity Ave.). 1885.
- Prof. J. Leverett Moore, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1887.
- Paul E. More, 265 Springdale Ave., East Orange, N. J. 1896.
- Prof. James H. Morgan, Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa. 1897.
- Prof. Morris H. Morgan, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (45 Garden St.). 1887.
- Prof. Edward P. Morris, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (53 Edgehill Road). 1886.
- Prof. Charles M. Moss, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. 1907.
- Prof. Lewis F. Mott, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. 1898.
- * Francis O. Mower, High School, Napa, Cal. 1900.
- Prof. George F. Mull, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa. 1896.
- * Dr. E. J. Murphy, Tarlac, Tarlac Province, Philippine Islands. 1900.
- * Prof. Augustus T. Murray, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. (Box 112). 1887.
- Prof. E. W. Murray, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan. 1907.
- Prof. Howard Murray, Halifax, N. S. 1907.
- Prof. Wilfred P. Mustard, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1892.
- Prof. Francis Philip Nash, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. 1872.
- Dr. K. P. R. Neville, 378 Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1902.
- * Prof. A. G. Newcomer, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Palo Alto, Cal. 1902.
- Dr. Charles B. Newcomer, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (Life Member). 1900.
- Prof. Barker Newhall, Kenyon College, Gambier, O. 1891.

- Prof. Frank W. Nicolson, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. 1888.
 Prof. William A. Nitze, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1902.
 Paul Nixon, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1907.
 * Prof. George R. Noyes, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2249 College Ave.). 1901.
 * Prof. H. C. Nutting, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (Box 272). 1900.
 * Dr. Charles J. O'Connor, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2545 Benvenue Ave.). 1900.
 Prof. Marbury B. Ogle, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt. 1907.
 Prof. George N. Olcott, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (438 W. 116th St.). 1899.
 Prof. Samuel Grant Oliphant, Olivet College, Olivet, Mich. 1907.
 * Dr. Andrew Oliver, 1404 Broadway, Seattle, Wash. 1900.
 Prof. Edward T. Owen, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1896.
 Prof. W. B. Owen, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. 1875.
 Prof. William A. Packard, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1872.
 Prof. Elizabeth H. Palmer, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1902.
 Prof. Charles P. Parker, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (1075 Massachusetts Ave.). 1884.
 * Clarence Paschall, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2615 Virginia St.). 1903.
 Prof. James M. Paton, 65 Sparks St., Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
 John Patterson, Louisville High School, Louisville, Ky. (1117 Fourth St.). 1900.
 Dr. Charles Peabody, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. (197 Brattle Street, Cambridge, Mass.). 1894.
 Dr. Mary Bradford Peaks, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1905.
 Dr. Arthur Stanley Pease, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1906.
 Prof. E. M. Pease, 31 E. 17th St., New York, N. Y. 1887.
 Prof. Tracy Peck, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1871.
 Miss Frances Pellett, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. (Kelly Hall). 1893.
 Dr. Daniel A. Penick, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. 1902.
 Prof. Charles W. Pepler, Emory College, Oxford, Ga. 1899.
 Dr. Elizabeth Mary Perkins, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1904.
 Prof. Emma M. Perkins, Western Reserve University (College for Women), Cleveland, O. 1892.
 Prof. Bernadotte Perrin, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (191 Farnam Hall). 1879.
 Prof. Edward D. Perry, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (542 West 114th St.). 1882.
 * Dr. Torsten Petersson, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1905.
 Prof. John Pickard, University of the State of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1893.
 Dr. William Taggard Piper, 179 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1885.
 Prof. Perley Oakland Place, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1906.
 Prof. Samuel Ball Platner, Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. (2033 Cornell Rd.). 1885.
 * Dr. William Popper, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (The Berkshire). 1905.

- Prof. William Porter, Beloit College, Beloit, Wis. 1888.
 Prof. Edwin Post, De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind. 1886.
 Prof. Franklin H. Potter, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. 1898.
 Henry Preble, 42 Stuyvesant Place, New Brighton, S. I., N. Y. 1882.
 Prof. William K. Prentice, American School of Classical Studies, Athens, Greece.
 1895.
 *Prof. Henry W. Prescott, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2525 Etna St.).
 1899.
 *Prof. Clifton Price, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (University Terrace). 1899.
 Prof. Ferris W. Price, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa. 1895.
 Prof. Benjamin F. Prince, Wittenberg College, Springfield, O. 1893.
 *E. K. Putnam, Davenport, Ia. 1901.
 Prof. Robert S. Radford, Elmira College, Elmira, N. Y. 1900.
 Prof. Edward Kennard Rand, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (104 Lake View Ave.). 1902.
 Prof. Charles B. Randolph, Clark University, Worcester, Mass. 1905.
 Prof. Edwin Moore Rankin, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1905.
 *Miss Cecilia Raymond, Berkeley, Cal. (2407 S. Atherton St.). 1900.
 Prof. John W. Redd, Centre College, Danville, Ky. 1885.
 Prof. A. G. Rembert, Woford College, Spartanburg, S. C. 1902.
 *Prof. Karl G. Rendtorff, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Palo Alto, Cal. (1130 Bryant St.). 1900.
 Prof. Horatio M. Reynolds, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (85 Trumbull St.). 1884.
 *Prof. Leon J. Richardson, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1895.
 Ernest H. Riedel, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1908.
 Dr. Ernst Riess, De Witt Clinton High School, New York, N. Y. (221 W. 113th St.). 1895.
 Prof. Edmund Y. Robbins, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1895.
 Dr. David M. Robinson, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1905.
 Dr. James J. Robinson, Hotchkiss School, Lakeville, Conn. 1902.
 Prof. W. A. Robinson, Lawrenceville School, Lawrenceville, N. J. 1888.
 Prof. Joseph C. Rockwell, Buchtel College, Akron, O. 1896.
 Prof. F. E. Rockwood, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa. 1885.
 George B. Rogers, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. 1902.
 Prof. John C. Rolfe, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.
 C. A. Rosegrant, Potsdam State Normal School, Potsdam, N. Y. 1902.
 Prof. Clarence F. Ross, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa. 1902.
 Prof. August Rupp, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. 1902.
 *Dr. Arthur W. Ryder, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2243 Piedmont Ave.). 1902.
 Dr. Julius Sachs, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (149 West 81st St.). 1875.
 Benjamin H. Sanborn, Wellesley, Mass. 1890.
 Prof. Henry A. Sanders, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (1227 Washtenaw Ave.). 1899.
 Prof. Myron R. Sanford, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt. 1894.

- Miss Catharine Saunders, 417 W. 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1900.
Joseph H. Sawyer, Williston Seminary, Easthampton, Mass. 1897.
Prof. W. S. Scarborough, Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, O. 1882.
* Prof. H. K. Schilling, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2316 Le Conte Ave.). 1901.
Prof. J. J. Schlicher, State Normal School, Terre Haute, Ind. 1901.
Edmund F. Schreiner, 486 N. Clark St., Chicago, Ill. 1900.
Dr. Charles P. G. Scott, 150 Woodworth Ave., Yonkers, N. Y. 1880.
Prof. John Adams Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. (2040 Orrington Ave.). 1898.
Prof. Henry S. Scribner, Western University of Pennsylvania, Allegheny City, Pa. 1889.
* Prof. Colbert Searles, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. (Box 281). 1901.
Prof. Helen M. Searles, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1893.
Charles D. Seely, State Normal School, Brockport, N. Y. 1888.
Prof. William J. Seelye, Wooster University, Wooster, O. 1888.
* Prof. Henry Senger, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (1429 Spruce St.). 1900.
J. B. Sewall, Brandon Hall, Brookline, Mass. 1871.
* S. S. Seward, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. (Box 771). 1902.
Prof. R. H. Sharp, Jr., Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va. (College Park P.O.). 1897.
George M. Sharrard, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1908.
Prof. J. A. Shaw, Highland Military Academy, Worcester, Mass. 1876.
Dr. T. Leslie Shear, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1906.
Prof. Edward S. Sheldon, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (11 Francis Ave.). 1881.
Prof. F. W. Shipley, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1900.
Prof. Paul Shorey, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1887.
Prof. Grant Showerman, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1900.
Dr. Edgar S. Shumway, Manual Training High School, Brooklyn, N. Y. (472 E. 18th St.). 1885.
Prof. E. G. Sihler, New York University, University Heights, New York, N. Y. 1876.
Prof. Kenneth C. M. Sills, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. 1906.
Rev. John Alfred Silsby, Shanghai, China. 1907.
Prof. Herbert D. Simpson, Central Normal School, Lockhaven, Pa. 1905.
Prof. Charles F. Sitterly, Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J. 1902.
* Prof. Macy M. Skinner, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1906.
Prof. Moses Stephen Slaughter, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1887.
Pres. Andrew Sledd, University of Florida, Lake City, Fla. 1904.
Prof. Charles N. Smiley, Iowa College, Grinnell, Ia. 1907.
Prof. Charles Forster Smith, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1883.
Prof. Charles S. Smith, The George Washington University, Washington, D. C. (2122 H St.). 1895.
Prof. Clement L. Smith, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1882.

- Prof. Harry de Forest Smith, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1899.
 Prof. Josiah R. Smith, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. (950 Madison Ave.). 1885.
 Prof. Kirby F. Smith, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1897.
 Prof. Herbert Weir Smyth, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (91 Walker St.). 1886.
 Dr. George C. S. Southworth, Gambier, O. 1883.
 Prof. Edward H. Spieker, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. (915 Edmondson Ave.). 1884.
 Dr. Sidney G. Stacey, Erasmus Hall High School, Brooklyn, N. Y. (177 Woodruff Ave.). 1901.
 Eric Arthur Starbuck, Westminster School, Simsbury, Conn. 1904.
 Miss Josephine Stary, Fuller Building, New York, N. Y. 1899.
 Prof. Wallace N. Stearns, Wesley College of North Dakota, Grand Forks, N. D. 1907.
 Prof. R. B. Steele, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. (2401 West End). 1893.
 Prof. J. R. S. Sterrett, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. (2 South Ave.). 1885.
 Prof. F. H. Stoddard, New York University, University Heights, New York, N. Y. 1890.
 Prof. Duane Reed Stuart, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1901.
 Prof. E. H. Sturtevant, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (490 W. 136th St.). 1901.
 Prof. William F. Swahlen, De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind. 1904.
 Prof. Frank B. Tarbell, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1882.
 Prof. Julian D. Taylor, Colby University, Waterville, Me. 1890.
 Prof. Glanville Terrell, Georgetown College, Georgetown, Ky. 1898.
 Prof. William E. Thompson, Hamline University, St. Paul, Minn. 1877.
 * Prof. David Thomson, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1902.
 Dr. George R. Throop, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1907.
 Dr. Charles H. Thurber, 29 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1901.
 Prof. Fitz Gerald Tisdall, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. 1889.
 Prof. Henry A. Todd, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1887.
 Prof. H. C. Tolman, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 1889.
 Prof. Edward M. Tomlinson, Alfred University, Alfred, N. Y. 1885.
 Dr. Oliver S. Tonks, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1903.
 Prof. William W. Troup, Westminster College, New Wilmington, Pa. 1907.
 Prof. J. A. Tufts, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. 1898.
 Prof. Esther B. Van Deman, American School of Classical Studies, Rome, Italy (Via Vicenza 5). 1899.
 Harry Brown Van Deventer, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1907.
 Prof. LaRue Van Hook, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1905.
 Addison Van Name, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (121 High St.). 1869.
 Prof. N. P. Vlachos, Temple College, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.
 Prof. Frank Vogel, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass. 1904.
 Dr. W. H. Wait, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1893.
 Dr. John W. H. Walden, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1889.

- Prof. Arthur T. Walker, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan. 1895.
Dr. Alice Walton, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1894.
Prof. Harry Barnes Ward, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. 1905.
Dr. Edwin G. Warner, Polytechnic Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y. (56 Montgomery Place). 1897.
Andrew McCorrie Warren, care of Brown, Shipley & Co., Founders' Court, London. 1892.
Prof. William E. Waters, New York University, University Heights, N. Y. (604 West 115th St.). 1885.
Dr. John C. Watson, Minot, N. D. (R. F. D. 2). 1902.
Dr. Helen L. Webster, Farmington, Conn. 1890.
Prof. Raymond Weeks, University of the State of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1902.
Prof. Charles Heald Weller, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa. 1903.
Prof. Andrew F. West, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1886.
Prof. J. H. Westcott, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1891.
Prof. J. B. Weston, Christian Biblical Institute, Stanfordville, N. Y. 1869.
Prof. Monroe Nichols Wetmore, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1906.
Prof. L. B. Wharton, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va. 1888.
Prof. Arthur L. Wheeler, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1899.
* Pres. Benjamin Ide Wheeler, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1879.
Prof. James R. Wheeler, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1885.
Prof. G. M. Whicher, Normal College, New York, N. Y. (507 West 111th St.). 1891.
Dr. Andrew C. White, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. (424 Dryden Road). 1886.
Prof. John Williams White, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (18 Concord Ave.). 1874.
Miss Mabel Whiteside, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, College Park, Va. 1906.
* Prof. Edward A. Wicher, San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo, Cal. 1906.
Vice-Chancellor B. Lawton Wiggins, University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn. 1892.
Prof. Alexander M. Wilcox, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan. 1884.
Prof. Henry D. Wild, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1898.
Charles R. Williams, Indianapolis, Ind. (1005 N. Meridian St.). 1887.
Prof. George A. Williams, Kalamazoo College, Kalamazoo, Mich. (136 Thompson St.). 1891.
Prof. Mary G. Williams, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1899.
Dr. Gwendolen B. Willis, Milwaukee-Downer College, Milwaukee, Wis. 1906.
Prof. Harry Langford Wilson, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1898.
Dr. John G. Winter, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1906.
* Dr. F. Winther, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2720 Dwight Way). 1907.
Prof. Henry Wood, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1884.
Prof. Willis Patten Woodman, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. 1901.
Prof. Frank E. Woodruff, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. 1887.
C. C. Wright, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. 1902.

- Prof. Ellsworth D. Wright, Lawrence University, Appleton, Wis. 1898.
 Prof. Henry B. Wright, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (86 Connecticut Hall). 1903.
 Prof. Henry P. Wright, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (128 York St.). 1883.
 Prof. John Henry Wright, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1874.
 Herbert H. Yeames, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. 1906.
 Prof. Clarence H. Young, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (312 West 88th St.). 1890.
 Mrs. Richard Mortimer Young, National Cathedral School, Washington, D. C. 1906.
 Prof. R. B. Youngman, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. 1904.
 [Number of Members, 600]

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Auburn, N. Y. : Theological Seminary Library.
Austin, Texas : University of Texas Library.
Baltimore, Md. : Johns Hopkins University Library.
Baltimore, Md. : Peabody Institute.
Berkeley, Cal. : University of California Library.
Boston, Mass. : Boston Public Library.
Brooklyn, N. Y. : The Brooklyn Library.
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Bryn Mawr, Pa. : Bryn Mawr College Library.
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Burlington, Vt. : Library of the University of Vermont.
Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard College Library.
Chicago, Ill. : The Newberry Library.
Chicago, Ill. : Public Library.
Clermont Ferrand, France : Bibliothèque Universitaire.
Cleveland, O. : Library of Adelbert College of Western Reserve University.
Columbus, O. : Ohio State University Library.
Crawfordsville, Ind. : Wabash College Library.
Detroit, Mich. : Public Library.
Easton, Pa. : Lafayette College Library.
Evanston, Ill. : Northwestern University Library.
Gambier, O. : Kenyon College Library.
Greencastle, Ind. : Library of De Pauw University.
Hanover, N. H. : Dartmouth College Library.
Iowa City, Ia. : Library of State University.
Ithaca, N. Y. : Cornell University Library.
Lincoln, Neb. : Library of State University of Nebraska.
Marietta, O. : Marietta College Library.
Middletown, Conn. : Wesleyan University Library.
Milwaukee, Wis. : Public Library.
Minneapolis, Minn. : Athenæum Library.
Minneapolis, Minn. : Library of the University of Minnesota.
Nashville, Tenn. : Vanderbilt University Library.
Newton Centre, Mass. : Library of Newton Theological Institution.
New York, N. Y. : New York Public Library.
New York, N. Y. : Library of Columbia University.
New York, N. Y. : Library of the College of the City of New York.
New York, N. Y. : Union Theological Seminary Library (700 Park Ave.).
Olivet, Mich. : Olivet College Library.
Philadelphia, Pa. : American Philosophical Society.
Philadelphia, Pa. : The Library Company of Philadelphia.
Philadelphia, Pa. : The Mercantile Library.

Philadelphia, Pa. : University of Pennsylvania Library.
 Pittsburg, Pa. : Carnegie Library.
 Poughkeepsie, N. Y. : Vassar College Library.
 Providence, R. I. : Brown University Library.
 Rochester, N. Y. : Rochester University Library.
 Stanford University, Cal. : Leland Stanford Jr. University Library.
 Tokio, Japan : Library of Imperial University.
 Toronto, Can. : University of Toronto Library.
 Tufts College, Mass. : Tufts College Library.
 University of Virginia, Va. : University Library.
 Urbana, Ill. : University of Illinois Library.
 Washington, D. C. : Library of the Catholic University of America.
 Washington, D. C. : United States Bureau of Education.
 Wellesley, Mass. : Wellesley College Library.
 Worcester, Mass. : Free Public Library.

[60]

TO THE FOLLOWING LIBRARIES AND INSTITUTIONS THE TRANSACTIONS ARE
 ANNUALLY SENT, GRATIS

Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.
 American School of Classical Studies, Athens.
 American School of Classical Studies, Rome (Via Vicenza 5).
 British Museum, London.
 Royal Asiatic Society, London.
 Philological Society, London.
 Society of Biblical Archæology, London.
 Indian Office Library, London.
 Bodleian Library, Oxford.
 University Library, Cambridge, England.
 Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, Scotland.
 Trinity College Library, Dublin, Ireland.
 Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
 Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
 North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Shanghai.
 Japan Asiatic Society, Yokohama.
 Public Library of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia.
 Sir George Grey's Library, Cape Town, Africa.
 Reykjavik College Library, Iceland.
 University of Christiania, Norway.
 University of Upsala, Sweden.
 Stadsbiblioteket, Göteborg, Sweden.
 Russian Imperial Academy, St. Petersburg.
 Austrian Imperial Academy, Vienna.
 Anthropologische Gesellschaft, Vienna.
 Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, Italy.
 Reale Accademia delle Scienze, Turin.
 Société Asiatique, Paris, France.

Athénée Oriental, Louvain, Belgium.
Curatorium of the University, Leyden, Holland.
Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia, Java.
Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences, Berlin, Germany.
Royal Saxon Academy of Sciences, Leipsic.
Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences, Munich.
Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Halle.
Library of the University of Bonn.
Library of the University of Freiburg in Baden.
Library of the University of Giessen.
Library of the University of Jena.
Library of the University of Königsberg.
Library of the University of Leipsic.
Library of the University of Toulouse.
Library of the University of Tübingen.
Imperial Ottoman Museum, Constantinople.

[44]

TO THE FOLLOWING JOURNALS THE TRANSACTIONS ARE ANNUALLY SENT, GRATIS,
OR BY EXCHANGE

The Nation.
Journal of the American Oriental Society.
Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.
Classical Philology.
Modern Philology.
The Classical Journal.
Athenæum, London.
Classical Review, London.
Revue Critique, Paris.
Revue de Philologie, Paris (Adrien Krebs, 11 Rue de Lille).
Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique, à la Sorbonne, Paris.
Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift, Berlin.
Deutsche Literaturzeitung, Berlin.
Indogermanische Forschungen, Strassburg (K. J. Trübner).
Literarisches Centralblatt, Leipsic.
Musée Belge, Liège, Belgium (Prof. Waltzing, 9 Rue du Parc).
Neue philologische Rundschau, Gotha (F. A. Perthes).
Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie, Berlin.
Rivista di Filologia, Turin (Ermanno Loescher).
Bolletino di Filologia Classica, Via Vittorio Amadeo ii, Turin.
Biblioteca delle Scuole Italiane, Naples (Dr. A. G. Amatucci, Corso Umberto
I, 106).
Zeitschrift für die österr. Gymnasien, Vienna (Prof. J. Golling, Maximilians-
Gymnasium).
L'Université Catholique, Lyons (Prof. A. Lepitre, 10 Avenue de Noailles).
La Cultura, Rome, Via dei Sediari 16A.

[24]

[Total (600 + 60 + 44 + 24) = 728]

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION¹

ARTICLE I. — NAME AND OBJECT

1. This Society shall be known as "The American Philological Association."
2. Its object shall be the advancement and diffusion of philological knowledge.

ARTICLE II. — OFFICERS

1. The officers shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and Curator, and a Treasurer.
2. There shall be an Executive Committee of ten, composed of the above officers and five other members of the Association.
3. All the above officers shall be elected at the last session of each annual meeting.
4. An Assistant Secretary, and an Assistant Treasurer, may be elected at the first session of each annual meeting, on the nomination of the Secretary and the Treasurer respectively.

ARTICLE III. — MEETINGS

1. There shall be an annual meeting of the Association in the city of New York, or at such other place as at a preceding annual meeting shall be determined upon.
2. At the annual meeting, the Executive Committee shall present an annual report of the progress of the Association.
3. The general arrangements of the proceedings of the annual meeting shall be directed by the Executive Committee.
4. Special meetings may be held at the call of the Executive Committee, when and where they may decide.

ARTICLE IV. — MEMBERS

1. Any lover of philological studies may become a member of the Association by a vote of the Executive Committee and the payment of five dollars as initiation fee, which initiation fee shall be considered the first regular annual fee.

¹ As amended December 28, 1907.

2. There shall be an annual fee of three dollars from each member, failure in payment of which for two years shall *ipso facto* cause the membership to cease.

3. Any person may become a life member of the Association by the payment of fifty dollars to its treasury, and by vote of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE V. — SUNDRIES

1. All papers intended to be read before the Association must be submitted to the Executive Committee before reading, and their decision regarding such papers shall be final.

2. Publications of the Association, of whatever kind, shall be made only under the authorization of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VI. — AMENDMENTS

Amendments to this Constitution may be made by a vote of two-thirds of those present at any regular meeting subsequent to that in which they have been proposed.

ADMINISTRATIVE RESOLUTIONS

CERTAIN matters of administration not specifically provided for in the Constitution have been determined from time to time by special votes of the Association, or of its Executive Committee. The more important of these actions still in force are as follows : —

1. WINTER MEETINGS. On September 19, 1904, the Association, which had been accustomed to hold its annual meetings in the month of July, voted, "That, by way of experiment, the next two meetings of the Association be held during Convocation Week in 1905 and 1906" (PROCEEDINGS, xxxv, li). At the second of the annual meetings under this vote, held at Washington, January 2-4, 1907, it was voted "That until further notice the Association continue the practice of a winter meeting, to be held between Christmas and New Year's, if possible in conjunction with the Archaeological Institute of America" (xxxvii, xi).

2. NOMINATING COMMITTEE. On July 8, 1903, the Association, in session at New Haven, voted to establish a permanent Nominating Committee of five members, one of whom retires each year after five years of service, and is replaced by a successor named by the President of the Association. By the terms of the vote the question of final approval or disapproval of this plan will come before the Association in 1908 (xxxiv, xix, xlv). The present membership of the Committee is as follows : —

Professor Milton W. Humphreys, *Chairman*.
Professor Martin L. D'Ooge.
Professor Herbert Weir Smyth.
Professor Samuel Ball Platner.
Professor Edward Capps.

3. PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST. On July 5, 1900, the Association, in session at Madison, accepted the recommendation of the Executive Committee defining the terms of affiliation between the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast and the American Philological Association (xxxi, xxix; cf. xxxii, lxxii).

4. SALARY OF THE SECRETARY AND TREASURER. In July, 1901, the Executive Committee fixed the salary of the Secretary and Treasurer at \$300, to include any outlay for clerical assistance (xxxii, lxxii).

5. PUBLISHING CONTRACT. The contract with Messrs. Ginn & Co. has been renewed July 1, 1906, by authority of the Executive Committee, on the same terms as for the preceding lustrum (cf. xxxii, lxxii).

PUBLICATIONS OF THE ASSOCIATION

THE annually published PROCEEDINGS of the American Philological Association contain, in their present form, the programme and minutes of the annual meeting, brief abstracts of papers read, reports upon the progress of the Association, and lists of its officers and members.

The annually published TRANSACTIONS give the full text of such articles as the Executive Committee decides to publish. The PROCEEDINGS are bound with them as an Appendix.

For the contents of Volumes I-XXXIII inclusive, see Volume XXXIV, pp. cxliii ff.

The contents of the last five volumes are as follows : —

1903. — Volume XXXIV

- Moore, F. G. : Studies in Tacitean ellipsis : descriptive passages.
Goodell, T. D. : Word-accent in Catullus's galliambics.
Brownson, C. L. : The succession of Spartan nauarchs in *Hellenica* I.
Prescott, H. W. : Magister curiae in Plautus's *Aulularia* 107.
Miller, C. W. E. : Hephaestion and the anapaest in the Aristophanic trimeter.
Radford, R. S. : The Latin monosyllables in their relation to accent and quantity.
A study in the verse of Terence.
March, F. A. : Three new types.
Proceedings of the thirty-fifth annual meeting, New Haven, 1903.
Proceedings of the fourth annual meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, San Francisco, 1902.

1904. — Volume XXXV

- Ferguson, W. S. : Historical value of the twelfth chapter of Plutarch's Life of Pericles.
Botsford, G. W. : On the distinction between *Comitia* and *Concilium*.
Radford, R. S. : Studies in Latin accent and metric.
Johnson, C. W. L. : The *Accentus* of the ancient Latin grammarians.
Bolling, G. M. : The *Āntikalpa* of the Atharva-Veda.
Rand, E. K. : Notes on Ovid.
Goebel, J. : The etymology of Mephistopheles.

Proceedings of the thirty-sixth annual meeting, St. Louis, 1904.

Proceedings of the fifth and sixth annual meetings of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, San Francisco, 1903, 1904.

1905. — Volume XXXVI

Sanders, H. A.: The Oxyrhynchus epitome of Livy and Reinhold's lost chronicon.

Meador, C. L.: Types of sentence structure in Latin prose writers.

Stuart, D. R.: The reputed influence of the *dies natalis* in determining the inscription of restored temples.

Bennett, C. E.: The ablative of association.

Harkness, A. G.: The relation of accent to elision in Latin verse.

Bassett, S. E.: Notes on the bucolic diaeresis.

Watson, J. C.: Donatus's version of the Terence *didascaliae*.

Radford, R. S.: Plautine synizesis.

Kelsey, F. W.: The title of Caesar's work.

Proceedings of the thirty-seventh annual meeting, Ithaca, N. Y., 1905.

Proceedings of the seventh annual meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, San Francisco, 1905.

1906. — Volume XXXVII

Fay, E. W.: Latin word-studies.

Perrin, B.: The death of Alcibiades.

Kent, R. G.: The time element in the Greek drama.

Harry, J. E.: The perfect forms in later Greek.

Anderson, A. R.: *Ei*-readings in the Mss of Plautus.

Hopkins, E. W.: The Vedic dative reconsidered.

McDaniel, W. B.: Some passages concerning ball-games.

Murray, A. T.: The bucolic idylls of Theocritus.

Harkness, A. G.: Pause-elision and hiatus in Plautus and Terence.

Cary, E.: Codex Γ of Aristophanes.

Proceedings of the thirty-eighth annual meeting, Washington, D. C., 1907.

Proceedings of the eighth annual meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, Berkeley, 1906.

1907. — Volume XXXVIII

Pease, A. S.: Notes on stoning among the Greeks and Romans.

Bradley, C. B.: Indications of a consonant-shift in Siamese.

Martin, E. W.: *Ruscinia*.

Van Hook, L. R.: Criticism of Photius on the Attic orators.

Abbott, F. F.: The theatre as a factor in Roman politics.

Shorey, P.: Choriambic dimeter.

Manly, J. M.: A knight ther was.

Moore, C. H.: Oriental cults in Gaul.

Proceedings of the thirty-ninth annual meeting, Chicago, Ill., 1907.

Proceedings of the ninth annual meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, Stanford University, 1907.

The Proceedings of the American Philological Association are distributed gratis upon application to the Secretary or to the Publishers until they are out of print.

Fifty separate copies of articles printed in the Transactions, ten of articles printed in the Proceedings, are given to the authors for distribution. Additional copies will be furnished at cost.

The "Transactions *for*" any given year are not always published in that year. To avoid mistakes in ordering back volumes, please state — not the year of publication, but rather — the year *for* which the Transactions are desired, adding also the volume-number, according to the following table : —

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1870 form Vol. I

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"	"	1874	"	V
"	"	1875	"	VI
"	"	1876	"	VII
"	"	1877	"	VIII
"	"	1878	"	IX
"	"	1879	"	X
"	"	1880	"	XI
"	"	1881	"	XII
"	"	1882	"	XIII
"	"	1883	"	XIV
"	"	1884	"	XV
"	"	1885	"	XVI
"	"	1886	"	XVII
"	"	1887	"	XVIII
"	"	1888	"	XIX

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